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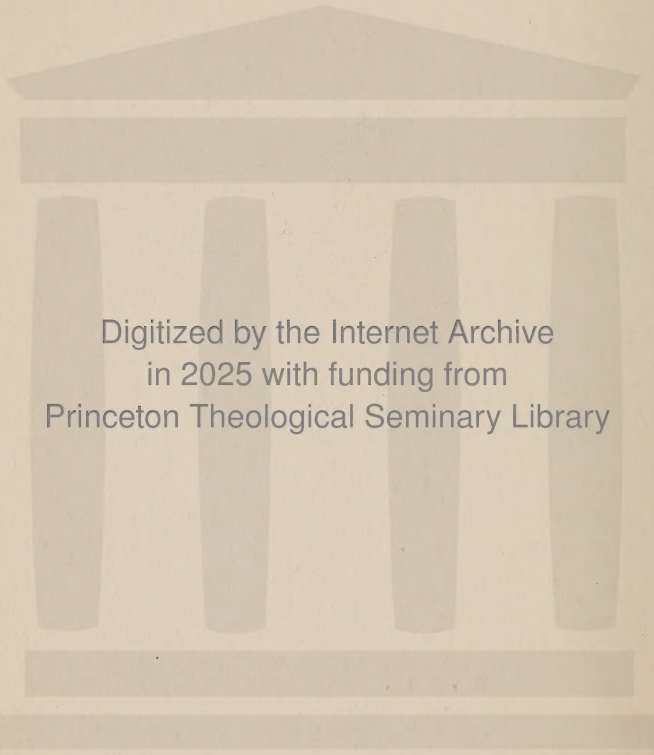
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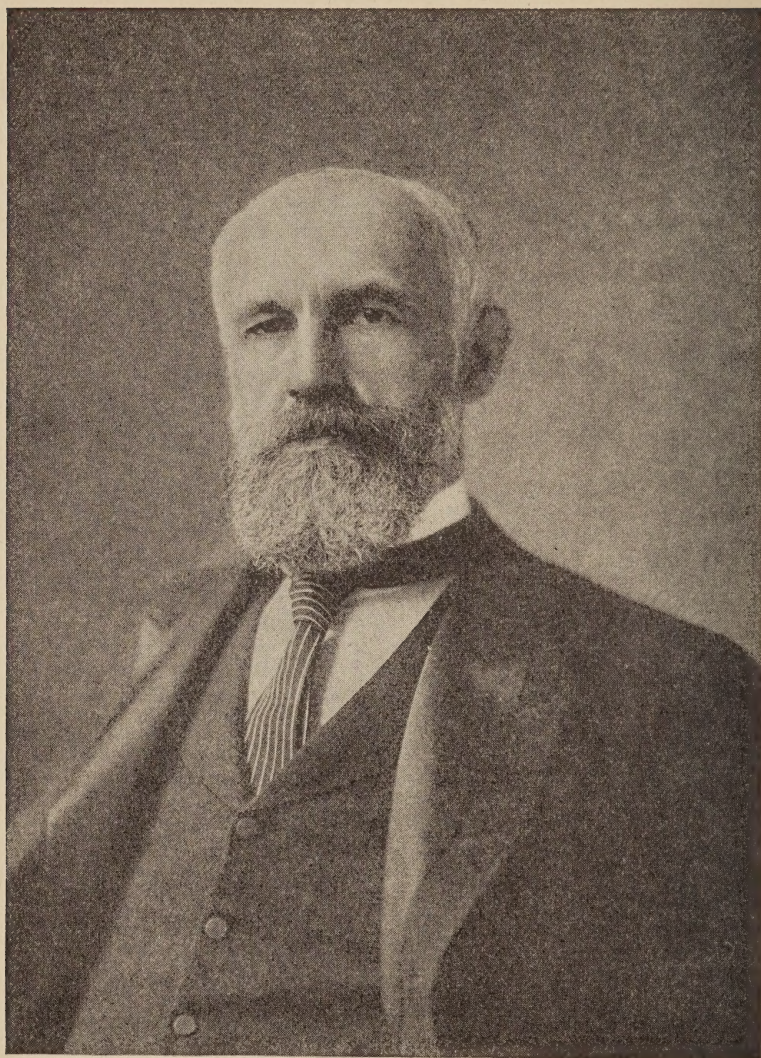
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PRENTICE-HALL PSYCHOLOGY SERIES
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The Psychology of Adolescence

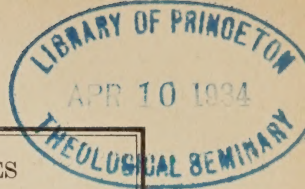
by

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1934



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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO
RUBY HEAFNER GARRISON

Preface

THIS book has been written to apply to the study of the adolescent the recent findings of psychology in systematic form. Since G. Stanley Hall produced his two large volumes on adolescence, much material on the subject has been published. Many of the studies have been highly colored by opinion or tinged with a sentimental bias; others have been marked by their detachment. The present writer has attempted to bring together the more reliable portions of this mass of literature and from them to evolve a more unified, systematized, and coherent approach to the various problems of adolescence that have caught the attention of student, parent, and teacher. Where the field is extensive, it has been necessary to limit the presentation so that many valuable data have been omitted; however, the studies reviewed and analyzed are representative, and have been chosen for their clarity, objectivity, and direct applications.

The aim of this volume is twofold. My experience has led me to believe, first, that such formulations as are presented here will be welcomed by the many students in college classes who are still in the latter stage of adolescence. These students are seeking information concerning a multitude of psychological problems, and especially the personality problems which are discussed in Part II. For those, also, who are intrusted with the care and guidance of adolescents, this material should

be of valuable help. Engrossed in the various duties of the home, and of both vocational and avocational pursuits, parents and even teachers too often forget the difficulties of the youths about them. I hope that this book may give them a more appreciative vision of adolescents and a fuller recognition of the importance of their transition from childhood to adulthood.

Since the psychology of the various periods of human growth is at this time rapidly developing, the second aim of this book is to introduce the student to basic experimental studies, and thus lay the foundation for a critical appreciation of the new studies that are constantly appearing. Aside from the facts actually given in detail in the text, the general student will find specific references to sources in the bibliographies which follow the chapters. The more advanced or more alert student should find the sources named in the footnotes additionally helpful in his development of new techniques of study and an analytical view of new findings and principles in the field.

This book had its inception in my mind while I was an advanced student in genetic psychology at Peabody College. It was here that I first knew Hall's writings and was impressed by the biological conception of individual development and the scientific study of the growing child. This interest developed further in connection with courses that I conducted on the psychology of adolescence and related subjects at Peabody College, North Carolina State College, the University of North Carolina, and also at Syracuse University.

I have drawn rather heavily from recent scientific studies and current source materials. Thus the youth

movement in Germany and the clinical studies of the child by Piaget are reviewed and are acknowledged by references. But it is difficult to give adequate credit, beyond the references, to all the sources to which I am indebted. However, I may express here my thanks to the writers and publishers who have permitted quotations from certain studies. Special acknowledgment is due for many of the longer studies, such as Baldwin's work concerning physical and mental growth, Lehman and Witty's studies of play interests, and Terman's study of genius. To my brother, Dr. S. C. Garrison, and to other associates and friends, I am grateful for many suggestions.

K. C. G.

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PART I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

CHAPTER I

The Adolescent Age

The meaning of adolescence.—An examination of various definitions of adolescence reveals little difference of opinion regarding the physical facts which constitute the foundation for a general study of adolescence. Usually adolescence is thought of as that period of life during which maturity is being attained; and especially is this true insofar as maturity relates to the development of the procreative powers of the individual. This period also marks a time in the individual's life when it is difficult to consider him either as a child or as an adult. Observations of, and experiences with, individuals during the "teen" period reveal that there is a fairly distinct time during which the individual cannot be treated as a child, and actually resents childlike treatment. Yet this same individual is by no means fully mature, and cannot be classed as an adult. During this transition from childhood to adulthood, therefore, the subject is referred to as an adolescent.

G. Stanley Hall¹ was the first to draw a vivid and striking picture of this stage of life, with all its specific characteristics, gradations, and peculiarities. His splendid portrayal of this period as the "storm and stress"

¹ Hall, G. Stanley : *Adolescence* (2 vols.). New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1904.

time of life caught the attention of all who came into contact with his writings, which were, in fact, so impressive that they dominated the thinking of most American students of adolescent psychology for a number of years. Probably no one else has shown such a clear understanding of this age as Hall.

Just three years before his death, Hall presented a rather clear description of the nature and origin of the "flapper." He cites the definition of the term from the dictionary as one "yet in the nest, and vainly attempting to fly while its wings have only pin feathers." This, he reflects, is probably an apt description of the person to whom the term is applied, and he concludes his last paragraph with an interesting portrayal of her individuality during this period of life. He writes:

Her new self-consciousness is really naive, and in her affectations she is simply trying out all the assortments of temperamental types, dispositions, and traits of character, as she often tries out styles of handwriting before she settles upon one. This is all because hers is the most vital and most rapidly developing psyche in all the world. The evolutionary stages of flapperdom are so many, and they succeed each other so fast, and are so telescoped together that we cannot yet determine the order of their sequence, and all my glimpses are only random snapshots of the wonderful quadrennium, the first four teens.²

Variation in pubescence.—Studies that have been conducted relative to the beginnings of puberty indicate that there is considerable variation in this phenomenon,

² Hall, G. Stanley: "Flapper Americana Novissima," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 129 (1922), pp. 771-780.

and that variation between the sexes is especially pronounced. However, a more careful analysis reveals that a great deal of overlapping of the sexes exists. In Table I data are presented from a study by Crampton³ showing the age of puberty for a group of almost 4000 grammar-school and high-school boys in New York City. A similar table, taken from Baldwin's⁴ more recent study, gives the various ages of the advent of puberty for 1241 grammar-school and high-school girls. Now we note from Table I that the norm for pubescence is a distribution range, not an average chronological age; for into no single age classification do a majority of the girls fall. The data of this table indicate rather

TABLE I
APPEARANCE OF PUBESCENCE IN BOYS AND GIRLS

BOYS		GIRLS	
Ages	Per Cent	Ages	Per Cent
12.25.....	16	10.....	0.0
12.75.....	25	10.5.....	6.25
13.25.....	26	11.0.....	0.0
13.75.....	28	11.5.....	19.23
14.25.....	28	12.0.....	37.93
14.75.....	24	12.5.....	23.88
15.25.....	20	13.0.....	34.88
15.75.....	10	13.5.....	37.87
16.25.....	4	14.0.....	38.46
16.75.....	4	14.5.....	17.74
17.25.....	2	15.0.....	14.54
17.75.....	0	15.5.....	7.81
		16.0.....	6.12
		16.5.....	3.17
		17.0.....	0.0

³ Crampton, C. W.: "Physiological Age—A Fundamental Principle," *American Physical Education Review*, Vol. 13 (1908), p. 150.

⁴ Baldwin, Bird T.: "A Measuring Scale for Physical Growth and Physiological Age," *Fifteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (1916), Part 1, p. 17.

clearly, then, the wide variation as to the advent of puberty. The norm for pubescence is a distribution or percentile range rather than an average range, and furthermore, this distribution range for the girls is about one and one-half or two years advanced over that of the boys.

Terman and Baldwin⁵ offer evidence indicating that children from the upper social strata generally mature a year or two in advance of those from lower strata; and along with this they found that superior children, as a group, matured earlier than inferior children. Other studies have shown that the feeble-minded as a group mature later. However, the age of pubescence varies not only with sex, living conditions, and general intelligence, but also with race and climate. It has been shown that south European children mature earlier than children from the northern European countries; children of Latin stock appear to mature earlier than those of Celtic stock; colored children in America mature earlier on the average than white children of the same age; and children from the tropical climates mature earlier as a group than those from the temperate and colder climates. Going still further, Drs. Burdick and Brown found from some data gathered on the pubescence of 360 boys in Baltimore and 1317 boys from 14 counties in Maryland that, "For the pubescent stages the country boys range from nine and one-half to fifteen and one-half, with the mode at thirteen and one-half, and the

⁵ Terman, L. M.: *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. I (1925), p. 205. Baldwin, Bird T.: "Mental Growth Curves of Normal and Superior Children," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, Vol. 2 (1922), No. 1.

city boys from ten to eighteen, with the mode at fourteen."⁶ The question of what elements are causative in the rate of maturation is not considered here; however, the associations suggested are rather definitely shown in various studies relating to adolescence and maturity.

Although the adolescent is rather distinct as such, having qualities peculiar to this phase of life alone, the adolescent age is not considered by the present writer as wholly isolated from and unrelated to other periods of life. Developmental periods are marked off somewhat arbitrarily,⁷ and an examination of the various classifications of these shows many inconsistencies and much overlapping; moreover, it is always to be remembered that adolescence covers a range of several years. This important truth, and the fact that there is a rather wide variation in the time of the onset of adolescence, have helped to determine the trend and organization of thought in the following chapters on the development of adolescents.

Pubic ceremonies.—Before a more detailed study of the characteristics of the adolescent is undertaken, it should be of interest as well as value to note some social customs concerned with the passage of youth from childhood to maturity. The universality of pubic rites and the solemnity of their observation are evidence of the recognition, even in earliest times, of the importance

⁶ Baldwin, Bird T.: "A Measuring Scale for Physical Growth and Physiological Age," *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁷ For a good study of the various classifications, see: Lehman, H. C., and Witty, P. A.: "Periodicity and Growth," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1927, 11, pp. 106-116.

of this stage of life. Consciously organized pubic ceremonies, sometimes very formal in execution, have been carried out by almost all primitive peoples, and in many of these tortures, humiliation, and various forms of instruction have had a place. Notably, the increase of formality in rites, and the lengthening of the period of the adolescent's preparation for them, have constituted a fair index of the degree of development of various civilizations. The aims of education and the methods of teaching among the highly developed civilizations of the Greeks and Hebrews indicate that these peoples formally initiated individuals into manhood and womanhood; indeed, the simplest and probably the earliest type of systematized education among savages related to the preparation of children for such ceremonies. However, secular and modern public education has broken away so completely from these practices of the past that it is difficult to recognize any of their vestiges in our educational processes.

Several authors, among whom G. Stanley Hall⁸ is one of the most prominent, have given us full and vivid descriptions of these pubic ceremonies as carried out among the more primitive tribes. Among many early peoples, we find, during the adolescent period each sex was made tabu to the other. Seclusion was enforced. Although the boys enjoyed more freedom than the girls, on the whole, the initiation ceremonies for them were often very severe.

Among the aboriginal tribes of Africa and Australia many rites are conducted today for boys, and the initia-

⁸ In *Adolescence*, Vol. II (1904), Chap. XIII, pp. 233-249.

tion period constitutes the most important epoch in the boy's life. It is at this time that he is admitted to man's estate, and that his training is more completely transferred from mother to father—hence to the tribe. Concerning the initiation ceremonies in Australia, Lillian Eichler says:⁹

In Australia there is a universal law which forbids a youth to marry until after the ceremonies of initiation have been concluded. At these ceremonies the boy is sometimes given instruction in his future duties. No boy is considered a man until he has gone through the initiation ceremonies prescribed by his particular tribe.

Among the Nandi of East Africa the neophytes have their head shaved, and purges are administered. Among the Xosa of South Africa, clothing which has been worn up to this time is discarded, and the speech activities are changed; the secrets of the tribe are administered, and the strictest of secrecy surrounds the rites. A brief description of these early pubic ceremonies, taken in part or in whole from various writers, follows.

It was the custom among the Metlakahtlans to confine for one month in an isolated cabin girls. . . . attaining the age of puberty, usually [in] their thirteenth year. No one is allowed to see them during this time, and it is supposed they are away on a voyage to the moon or some other celestial abode. . . . and at the end of the month they return to their people, amid great feasting and rejoicing.¹⁰

⁹ Eichler, Lillian: *The Customs of Mankind*, pp. 171-172. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1924.

¹⁰ Wellcome, G. H. S.: *The Story of Metlakahtla*, p. 7. New York: Saxon, 1887.

On these occasions, and when the youths are initiated into the mysteries of the tribe, there are great celebrations, with feasting and great recklessness.

The Victorian aborigines boys, upon reaching the age of thirteen, are taken away from their home by elder members and instructed in the legends of the tribe. At the end of a month's instruction, [the boy] . . . is held by members of the group and the flesh is bored from around a front tooth, and then the tooth is knocked out.¹¹

Partridge says of practices among the American Indians:

The use of intoxicants in pubertal rites is very common, especially among the American Indians. The Tuscaroras of North Carolina, among other initiatory ordeals for boys, administer to them some kind of a bark and several stimulating plants, which reduce them to a state of raving intoxication. When the Creek boys were to be initiated into manhood, they gathered two handfuls of a certain plant which intoxicates and maddens, and continued eating the bitter root for a whole day and then steeped the leaves in water and drank from this decoction.

Pritchard says of the practices of the Patagonians:

A certain stage in the life of each girl is celebrated by a festivity in the camp. An ornamented *toldo* is put up temporarily for the girl's occupation, and the young men of the tribe march around it singing, while the women howl, probably with a view of exorcising any evil spirit which may be lingering about the camp. The ceremony is followed by a feast, and the evening winds up with a dance. The men alone take part in this, and it consists in circling around the fire, pacing sometimes slowly and sometimes quickly. A few dance at a time,

¹¹ Mathews, R. H.: "The Victorian Aborigines: Their Initiation Ceremonies, etc.," *American Anthropologist*, November, 1898, p. 325.

accompanying their movements by a constant bowing or nodding of the head, which is adorned with tufts of ostrich feathers. When one party is tired out, another takes its place.¹²

In the Orient and among the Indians of California—and especially southern California—in India and Persia, among the Arabians, or even in the highly developed civilizations of the Hebrews and the Greeks, we find some customs that are rather quaint according to the views of Western civilization. An examination of them, however, will likely reveal that they are but modified remnants of earlier public ceremonies. These practices, after all, were designed to fill some need, and the needs of the groups were to a degree similar in nature, being a recognition of the fact that the individual was passing from a childhood into an adult stage. The adolescent thus was destined to accept the responsibility which adult members of his or her tribe and sex were accepting; hence he was trained in the virtues, responsibilities, skills, and general tribal practices.

Some informal observances of modern civilization.—Some of these early attitudes toward maturing boys and girls are of especial interest in the light of present-day attitudes and policies. Probably the most noticeable of the modern practices is the introduction of the young lady into “society.” This usually takes place during the latter part of the adolescent period, and signifies to the world—and particularly to the young men—that a daughter is about to enter woman’s estate. Frequently the initiate-to-be is given a “house” or “com-

¹² Pritchard: *Through the Heart of Patagonia*, p. 92. New York: Hesketh, 1902.

ing-out" party, or makes her *début* at a *débutante* ball or similar celebration. After this epoch in her life the girl is allowed certain privileges formerly denied her, such as having boy friends call and attending dances. Yet not only do we find her appearing in formal social activities, for a changed attitude is assumed toward her: she is now addressed as a "Miss" rather than by her maiden name, except among more intimate friends; and like the maturing boy she may often be admitted to a wide variety of adult life. But these, of course, are not the only tokens of maturity in modern society. The gift of a watch, commencement (a significant term) exercises at high school, the finishing school, the linking of the self with the church—these are all more or less socialized events related to the entrance into maturity.

It has been suggested that this recognition is informal, and that the youth has not wholly put away childish things. Yet the world at large, as well as the individual concerned, is advised of a person's becoming a matured social being. On the other hand, we may not ignore the fact that practices to which we have referred are mainly those of the more financially fortunate families. A survey of the life habits of people from a lower social stratum will show that many such observances are absent, and that today there is, here, little to indicate to the world and to the developing youth that the adult group, with its privileges and responsibilities, is receiving a new member. Frequently the "initiation" lessons are given by uncouth and unworthy elders. Often, indeed, the home is a very poor agent for developing and setting forth a responsible social being, and as a result of its neglect, inadequacy, or general unwhole-

someness, undesirable psychological growths appear in the young.

Distribution of adolescents.—Any study of adolescents falls short if we fail to include those not in school. Figure 1 will reveal that, after the age of fourteen, which is the compulsory school-attendance limit in a number of states, there is a rapid decline in population percentages of different age levels enrolled in school. Thus we note that in 1930 less than 60 per cent of the population of sixteen and seventeen years was enrolled in schools. The United States Office of Education has made some interesting and concrete generalizations from data available concerning the problem of elimination:

Making allowance for duplication, it is now estimated that of an original 1000 entering the public school for the first time, 974 reach the sixth grade, 855 reach the seventh grade, and 768 reach the eighth grade. No data are available concerning the number of pupils who complete the work of the eighth grade.

Of the original 1000, the number entering the first year of the high school is 610, while 483 reach the second year, 321 reach the third year, 268 reach the fourth year, and 260 are finally graduated from high school.¹³

The growth of the public high school itself in the United States during the last quarter of a century has been remarkable. From 1900 to 1926 there was an increase in the public high-school enrollment from 519,251 to 3,757,466, or 623.6 per cent.¹⁴ And since the typical high-school pupil upon beginning his course is from twelve to fourteen years old—the early adolescent

¹³ *Biennial Survey of Education*, 1926-28, United States Department of Interior, Office of Education, 1930, p. 434.

¹⁴ *Journal of the National Education Association*, 1930, 19, p. 20.

years for a great number of boys and girls—the consequences for adolescents of this increase is evident. In 1915, 6.7 per cent of the total school population were in four-year secondary schools, and the per cent had risen to 10.2 by 1920 and to 15.2 by 1926. In fact, there has been growing a more general recognition of the need for training the adolescent boy and girl for a better and more efficient participation in the various phases of social life. Most of Western civilization has accepted the principle that every child should receive instruction which will aid him both vocationally and avocationally in his preparation for citizenship. However, we must keep well in mind that, despite this phenomenon, many persons between the ages of twelve and eighteen are neither enrolled in school nor influenced appreciably by it.

Various studies have been concerned with why adolescents drop out of school. Among the more prominent causes found are: failure in school work; desire to go to work; economic conditions; lack of further school facilities; expulsion, and the like.¹⁵ These studies relating to retardation and elimination in our schools are pointing out the necessity of better adjusting the school program to the increasing number of adolescents remaining in school.

According to the data presented in connection with Fig. 1, 88.8 per cent of children fourteen and fifteen, and 57.3 per cent of those sixteen and seventeen years

¹⁵ See especially, "Post-School Adjustments of Drop-Outs and Graduates from the Minneapolis Public Schools," *The Department of Superintendence* (National Education Association), *Ninth Yearbook*, Chap. IX, 1931.

old, were enrolled in the schools. Thus we find that over 40 per cent of sixteen- and seventeen-year-old children are not being affected by our schools. According to the Fifteenth Census of the United States,¹⁶ 2,514,986 persons of from fourteen to eighteen were not enrolled in our schools in 1930. Furthermore, this Census shows that in 1930 667,118 children between ten and sixteen were employed in some gainful occupation, the distribution of child workers according to occupation being as follows:

Agriculture (wage workers).....	67,153
Agriculture (unpaid family workers).....	402,344
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	68,266
Trade.....	49,615
Domestic and personal service.....	46,145
Clerical occupations.....	16,803
Transportation and communication.....	8,717
Professional service.....	4,844
Miscellaneous.....	3,231
ALL OCCUPATIONS.....	667,118

The provisions of industrial codes adopted under the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 drastically reduced child labor, especially below the sixteen-year age limit, but there is little doubt that a large number of boys and girls are compelled to go to work prior to eighteen and nineteen in order to help support themselves and other members of the family. Some of these adolescents are of course receiving wholesome and efficient training on the job. Yet it is quite likely that this lack of educational opportunities, along with the failure of the schools to adapt their curricula to changed high-school conditions, is responsible for many of the

¹⁶ *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, Vol. III, 1930, p. 10.

failures of adolescents to adjust themselves to the increasing complexity of man's social environment.

TABLE II
NUMBER AND PER CENT OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN EACH
OF THE GRADES, 1926¹⁷

Grade	Number in School	Per Cent in School
Elementary school:		
First.....	3,923,492	16.6
Second.....	2,782,129	11.8
Third.....	2,692,842	11.4
Fourth.....	2,626,608	11.1
Fifth.....	2,439,892	10.3
Sixth.....	2,204,276	9.4
Junior high school:		
First.....	1,901,408	8.1
Second.....	1,462,274	6.2
Third.....	1,343,259	5.7
Senior high school:		
First.....	946,774	4.0
Second.....	693,878	2.9
Third.....	557,340	2.4

Concerning this problem a quotation of President Roosevelt appeared in the December, 1932, *Child Welfare*:

We know that the industrial openings for young people between fourteen and sixteen are in most cases blind-alley, repetitive jobs, demoralizing rather than stimulating to the children employed at them. Such use of youth is vain and wasteful. But we know also that our present educational provisions do not meet the needs of all children up to sixteen. Newer, more vital, more significant types of preparation for satisfactory living must be evolved in our school system, so that if we prohibit the employment of children up to sixteen we may at the same time provide fruitful experiences to fill

¹⁷ Based on data from *U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 39, 1927*, "Statistics of State School Systems," 1925-1926, Table 2, p. 10.

these years and turn out more valuable citizens to the state and to industry when they do enter on their productive years.¹⁸

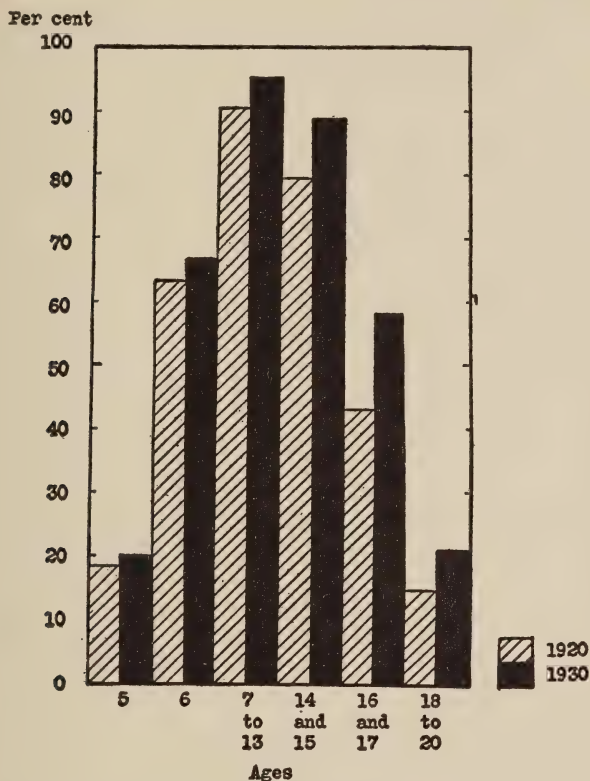


Fig. 1.—Percentage of Population Attending School in the United States, 1920 and 1930.¹⁹

¹⁸ Quoted from Graves, Frank Pierrepont, "President Roosevelt and Education," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 1933, 22, pp. 75-76.

¹⁹ Federal Relations to Education, Part II: *Basic Facts*. Report of the National Advisory Committee on Education, 1931, p. 139.

Thought Problems

1. Look up several definitions of adolescence and note the points of similarity in each.
2. Look up the derivation of the word *adolescence*. List some other words that have been developed from this derivative.
3. What is meant by pubic ceremonies? Do you notice any points of similarity between the various ceremonies? Show how differences in the practices represent different folkways or general cultural patterns.
4. What are the essential differences between the pubic ceremonies of today and those of earlier, more primitive times?
5. List some value to the group of these pubic ceremonies; some value to the individual.
6. How does the adolescent school enrollment of today compare with that of fifty years ago? Study Fig. 1 and indicate the points at which school enrollment has increased during recent times.
7. List some problems of individual adolescence.

Suggestions for Reading

- Calverton, V. F., and Schmalhausen, S. D.: *The New Generation*. New York: The Macaulay Co., 1930.
- Chrisman, O.: *The Historical Child*. Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1920.
- Frazer, J. G.: *The Golden Bough*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923.
- Hall, G. Stanley: *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*, Vol. I, Chap. I; Vol. II, Chap. XIII. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1904.
- Margold, Chas. W.: *Sex Freedom and Social Control*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926.
- Mead, Margaret: *Growing Up in New Guinea*. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1930.

CHAPTER II

Physical Development of the Adolescent

What Is Meant by Development?

As we study boys and girls of high-school age, we find that they are to be understood only as a product of development, and as in the process of development. It is the purpose of Chapters II and III to discuss the general nature of adolescent development, and to study some of the paramount problems of this period of life.

All living things live in some sort of external environment. This, because of its nature, is always changing; change seems to be one of the universal laws of nature. Changes in the individual's environment influence him in many ways, and under these influences his behavior is modified. Now the word "development" in its usual use refers to change in some desirable direction. In the moral realm it oftentimes refers to the growth of desirable social and religious habits or tendencies of behavior; in the physical realm it is used to denote the growth of the body structures; educationally it has reference to educational achievement. However, a more careful study of the exact meaning of the word reveals that it denotes change exclusively, and that this change may be either desirable or undesirable. Furthermore, changes are ever present in living cells—

as someone has put it, "Life is a process of changing." Thus the individual is constantly faced with new and different environmental forces of two special types. The one is organic, and is in essence the physiological processes occurring in all living organisms; energy is being made available through the metabolic processes related to food assimilation, and this is released through activity. The other force is represented by man's external environment, which continuously stimulates him to reaction. Concerning these forces, Dashiell says: "The most interesting phases of the life of man are those in which he is found to be maladjusted—when an emergency, major or minor, confronts him and adaptive behavior on his part ensues."¹ Thus adaptations are the consequences of the search for *better* adaptations; and development proceeds as the individual succeeds in establishing more satisfying relations within himself and with his environment. Yet, as we have suggested, particular adaptations may be either desirable or undesirable: for example, they may be individually desirable and socially undesirable; moreover, they may be desirable on one occasion and undesirable on another.

Factors in Development

The growth and development of all living organisms depend upon two factors: the internal and the external. The internal factors are those of the hereditary constitution of the organism, and the external, those of the

¹ Dashiell, J. F.: *Fundamentals of Objective Psychology*, p. 29. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928.

environment. In certain respects the two sets of factors cannot be separated, since experience is a matter of their interaction; but for purposes of study the influence of each is often analyzed and contrasted with the influence of the other.

Heredity.—Heredity is the transmission of traits from parent to offspring. It is commonly known that organisms arise through some process of reproduction, and it is with reference to this process that heredity is studied. Usually there is a striking similarity between parent and offspring; moreover, heredity sets limits within which, whatever the environmental conditions may be, the individual's development will be confined. Heredity is, however, a subject about which more is unknown than known, and the fundamental problem of developmental psychology is still that of the relative importance of environmental and hereditary factors. To this problem we shall return from time to time in our study.

The environment.—Instead of setting the individual against environment, as is often done, we find upon examination that he is in intimate relation with it at every turn; in fact, we find that only by definition can we separate the individual and his environment. There is a continuous interaction between them so long as the individual survives. Any statement regarding the individual which takes account of his biological nature must emphasize this mutual relationship. It may be emphasized thus: *The individual may be conceived of as protoplasm capable of maintaining itself by responding to a changing environment; during life many of these responses become fixed or characteristic, so that we may*

*consider an individual as a bit of protoplasm possessing more or less definite patterns of response. Or, if we desire to think of him purely in terms of action, we may say, the individual is the sum total of behavior patterns developed in protoplasm in response to environment—*in which statement the individual is considered neither as protoplasm nor as environment, but as the result of the reaction of one to the other.

Physical Development—Methods of Study

Not only is it of interest to study the mutual relation of hereditary and environmental forces in development, but a knowledge of the general nature of growth itself is of value to those who wish to understand the changes appearing at the onset of adolescence.

Various studies of growth referred to in this chapter show that children of the same age often vary enormously with respect to rate and amount of growth over a specified period of time. Yet this is but natural, and is not unexpected to one who has a fuller understanding of forces affecting the development of each individual. Again, in studying development a distinction is often made between growth in height and weight and physiological maturity. Each will thus have a separate treatment in this chapter, although both are considered part of the general physical development of the subject.

Some of the major problems to be encountered in our study of physical development are: What are the methods commonly used in the study of physical development? What is the general nature of the growth curves for boys and girls during the preadolescent and

adolescent stages? The meaning and nature of anatomical development, unevenness in growth, and the interrelation of traits are other problems which we shall take up.

For the estimation of physical development three somewhat different methods are used. The most frequent, as well as the earliest, in use is that of studying weight-height-age relationships. A study of either weight or height alone gives a very poor index of actual physical development, since children of the same age, sex, race, and environmental conditions vary enormously in rate of growth. Of the two, weight is a less reliable measure because the accumulation of fat is not an accurate index of the increase in tissue cells; again, a loss of weight may result from the using up of adipose tissue, while at the same time the number of tissue cells may be increasing. Measurements of height are more informative of physical development because they indicate growth in terms of the length of the skeleton.

The eruption of the permanent teeth proceeds at a pace rather closely related to the physical development, and this also serves as an index of physical development. Another method is to study the degree of ossification of the bones by means of x-rays, roentgenograms being made and studied according to a scale which has been developed. Still another method involves measurements which give results possible of interpretation in terms of ages, the two ages commonly referred to in this connection being the anatomical and the physiological—although some students, indeed, do not differentiate between these. Physiological age is a term which has been used relative to the development of the repro-

ductive powers, and in general three divisions of it are made: the prepubescent, the pubescent, and the post-pubescent. Anatomical age concerns the degree of the child's physical development as measured by the development of the bones; it does not have direct reference to size, weight, health, strength, nor even to glandular development.

Growth in height and weight.—Any tables of averages are likely to be very misleading, especially in respect to children's growth periods. Norms for height and weight should therefore be used with caution. There are different types of individuals—the tall, the short, and the thick-set; and although the graphs obtained from statistics of large groups represent general tendencies, the attempt to apply the same formulæ of growth to all individuals will meet with failure. Individuals do not grow at the same pace, nor even to the same degree.

The data in Table III show a general falling off in the growth in height of boys at the ages of 11 and 12, followed by an increase in height growth that reaches its maximum at the ages of 14 and 15. The height curve for the girls is similar to that of the boys; except as the decline occurs at an earlier age and the adolescent spurt in growth reaches its maximum at the ages of 12 and 13. The preadolescent decline and the adolescent spurt are very noticeable in the data. And in the case of weight, also, a similar condition prevails. The peak of growth for boys is reached at their 15th year, while that for girls is reached at their 13th year. The average annual increase represents the increase during the year preceding. Thus, the increase of 4.4 inches

(Table IV) for eight-year-old boys is the average increase between the seventh and the eighth year of life.

Individual-growth curves are given in Fig. 2, and according to these curves there is a great irregularity of growth. The preadolescent decline and the adolescent

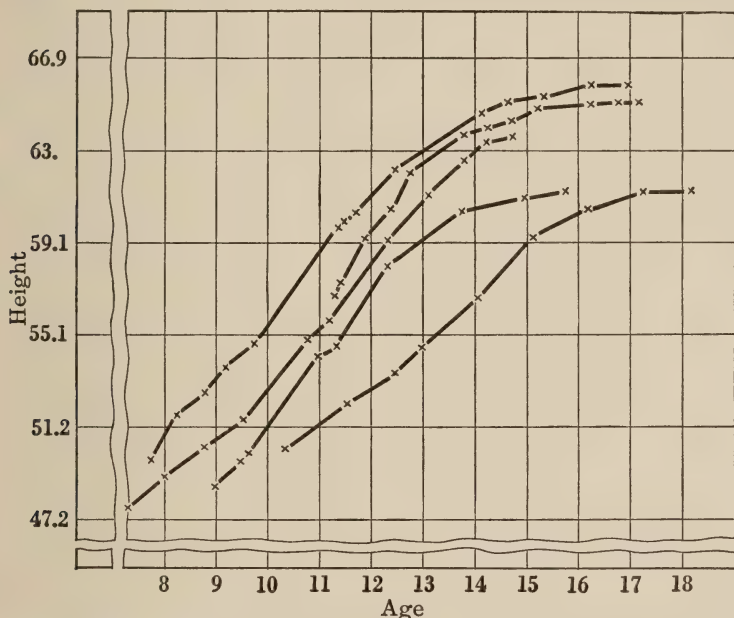


Fig. 2.—Relationship Between Age and Height and Maturation for Five Girls. (After Baldwin)

spurt are more evident in individual-growth curves, for here the variation in the time of onset of adolescence does not enter in to cause a smoothing out of the curves. These curves lead one to conclude that height and weight changes are closely related to the beginning of puberty; moreover, in each case it is seen that the spurt in growth is, on the average, earlier by one or two years for girls

TABLE III
AVERAGE HEIGHT OF BOYS AND GIRLS OF DIFFERENT AGES²
HEIGHT (INCHES)

AGE AT NEAREST BIRTHDAY	BOYS			GIRLS		
	I	II	<i>Average Annual Increase</i>	I	II	<i>Average Annual Increase</i>
8.....	48.6	49.8	1.9	48.5	49.1	2.1
9.....	50.7	51.5	1.9	50.5	51.1	2.0
10.....	52.6	53.5	1.95	52.5	53.1	2.0
11.....	54.3	55.3	1.75	54.5	55.3	2.1
12.....	56.2	56.9	1.75	57.0	57.6	2.4
13.....	58.0	59.3	2.1	59.3	60.1	2.4
14.....	60.3	61.8	2.4	61.1	61.8	1.75
15.....	62.9	64.1	2.45	62.5	62.7	1.15
16.....	64.6	66.7	2.15	63.3	63.6	.85

TABLE IV
AVERAGE WEIGHT OF BOYS AND GIRLS OF DIFFERENT AGES³
WEIGHT (POUNDS)

AGE AT NEAREST BIRTHDAY	BOYS			GIRLS		
	I	II	<i>Average Annual Increase</i>	I	II	<i>Average Annual Increase</i>
8.....	54.5	55.3	4.4	52.4	53.8	4.95
9.....	59.6	60.7	5.25	58.0	59.7	5.75
10.....	65.2	67.2	6.05	64.0	67.2	6.75
11.....	71.1	73.1	5.9	70.3	74.1	6.6
12.....	78.0	77.7	5.55	79.7	83.9	9.6
13.....	85.1	88.4	8.9	89.7	96.2	11.35
14.....	95.4	98.3	10.1	99.4	107.2	10.35
15.....	108.4	109.4	12.05	107.6	115.5	8.25
16.....	116.7	120.6	9.75	113.6	120.6	5.55

² Column I represents data from Bird T. Baldwin's studies. Column II represents data from *United States Public Health Reports*, May, 1922, Vol. 37, No. 20.

³ See note 2.

than for boys. Baldwin's individual-growth curves also show a rather close relation between physiological development and growth. Concerning the educational and social significance of height and weight data given by Baldwin are shown on p. 26.

Height and weight, therefore, it would appear, offer excellent objective criteria for teachers and parents for determining the advent of menstruation as a factor in pubescent development and the onset of maturity. If the girl is tall, healthy, and well nourished, this physical stage may be reached as early as 11 years in a normal girl; if tall, but under weight, it may be delayed; if very short and markedly light, it may be delayed until 16 years of age.

These conditions have wide educational application both in physical training and school work. They emphasize the fact that the smaller child should be treated as a younger person who has not had the physical development and the accompanying mental disturbances and experiences which would seem to be indicated by her chronological age in years, and which, too often, has been used as a basis of classification, training, and social activities.⁴

These statements are distinctly in harmony with the results found from a rather recent study by Leal.⁵ Leal found from measurements of 2143 girls from grades four to twelve that there was a direct positive relation between the degree of physiological maturity and height. Thus, it might be stated as a general principle that, up to the onset of adolescence, development has proceeded rather rapidly and with fair uniformity, and that

⁴ Baldwin, Bird T.: *Physical Growth and School Progress*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 10, 1914, pp. 67-68.

⁵ Leal, M. A.: "The Relationship Between Height and Physiological Maturity," *Journal of Educational Research*, 1932, 25, pp. 168-177.

this development might further be considered as quantitative in nature. Even educational growth has been rather gradual and constant. In this country the average child who has entered school at six years of age will, if normal progress is made, reach the junior high school at the age of twelve or thirteen.

Anatomical development.—Anatomical development pertains primarily to the skeletal system, and especially to changes in the structure of the bones. With the advent of adolescence, as has been pointed out, there is an increase in height and weight. But there is a further change in the composition of the bones (of the osseous and cartilaginous materials, etc.) as the individual matures. The ossification of the bones proceeds gradually, but is rather far advanced at the beginning of adolescence. Girls of all ages from five or six to maturity are, on the average, ahead of boys of their age in bone ossification.

Prescott gives a rather complete account of the studies dealing with anatomical measurements by means of radiographs. From these he concludes:

A consideration of the literature to date does not establish or discredit the value of radiographs as a means of determining anatomical age or the value of anatomical age for what it can tell of the child's development. Rotch apparently established the fact that the development of the carpal bones is an index of general anatomical development by his study of over 1,000 children. This study included radiographs of many other parts of the body, all made with care, and appears to have been broad enough to justify Rotch's conclusions despite the apparent differences between the two hands found by Long and Caldwell. This is the more likely because Pryor, Bardeen and Baldwin each state definitely that bilateral differences are

not great enough to be important, and the present study has found the same to be true. . . . No study has been made of the extent to which general physiological development parallels anatomical development. It seems to have been taken for granted that changes in the body structures are accompanied by the necessary adjustments of the organs.⁶

The child's age at the time of the eruption of the permanent teeth was early used by Bean as an indicator of anatomical development. In discussing some of his extensive work relative to the value of such a method, Bean writes:

The teeth are more convenient and more exact as a means of determining the physiological standard than stature, or weight, or growth of bones, or secondary sexual characteristics, etc., and they may be of greater value than any other means that can be utilized.⁷

More recently, dental records have been obtained from studies of the growth of children conducted under the direction of Dearborn at Harvard University. Cattell⁸ has presented these data in the form of a dental-age scale, there being one scale for measuring the dental age of boys and a different one for girls. These scales are based on the total number of permanent teeth which have broken through the gums at different ages, and standards were established for 7835 children of North

⁶ Prescott, D. A.: "The Determination of Anatomical Age in School Children and Its Relation to Mental Development," *Studies in Educational Psychology and Educational Measurement, Harvard Monographs in Education*, 1923, Series 1, No. 5.

⁷ Bean, R. B.: "The Eruption of the Teeth as a Physiological Standard for Testing Development," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 1914, 21, pp. 596-614.

⁸ Cattell, Psyche: "A Scale for Measuring Dental Age," *School and Society*, 1928, 27, pp. 52-56.

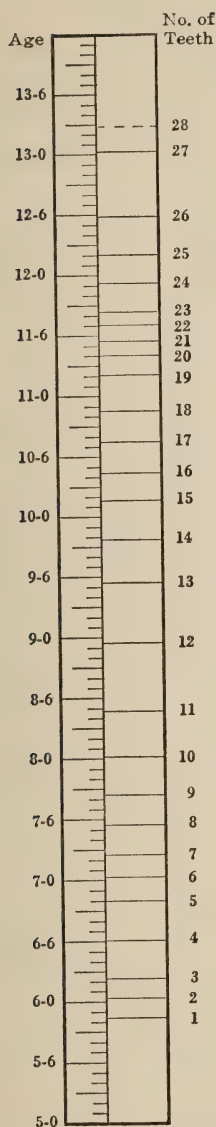
European descent. Fig. 3 shows the variation in time of the eruption of permanent teeth for the different age levels. Notably, the scales clearly show sex differences, and the preadolescence of both boys and girls is marked by a period of accelerated eruption of the permanent teeth.

Lack of uniformity in growth.—That there is a great lack of uniformity in the general development of the various parts of the body is especially in evidence as we examine the rate of growth of some of the more important organs. Thus the brain of the child weighs, at birth, a little less than one pound; by the time the child is eight years of age it is about as large as it will ever be, but insofar as the inner cellular structure is concerned growth and maturation are yet quite incomplete. The cortical centers controlling voluntary behavior mature subsequently, and certain medullation processes appear to be still later in maturing—this being especially true of some cellular structures of the cerebrum related to mental life.

However, aside from the growth and maturation of the sex powers, there is no growth so pronounced as that of the circulatory system. At birth the heart is relatively heavy, and it grows rather rapidly during the first six years; but after this period growth is rather slow. In this connection Tyler says: "During the next seven years, between the ages of seven and fourteen, its increase is still slower, adding about two-thirds of its volume at seven. During puberty the heart enlarges as much as during the preceding seven years."⁹

⁹ Tyler, John M.: *Growth and Education*, p. 82. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907.

BOYS



GIRLS

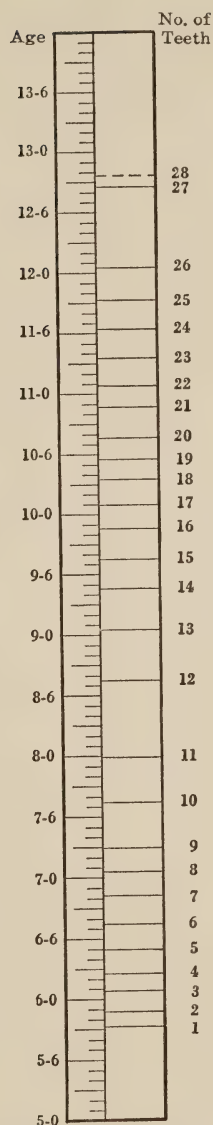


Fig. 3.—The Average Number of Permanent Teeth Erupted at Each Age Level for Boys and Girls. (*Cattell, Psyche*, 1928)

The effect of this retardation of growth in the circulatory system is doubtless more to be considered than most parents and teachers realize. During the pre-adolescent stage the arteries are more developed than the heart, so that the heart is probably less efficient in propelling blood throughout the body; hence the frequent fatigue and breathing affections of the individual.

A further lack of uniformity in growth is present in the development of lung capacity. Data afforded by various investigations of school children show that the increase of lung capacity is quite pronounced during the adolescent period. The greatest increase for girls occurs between the ages of 10 or 11 and 14, the greatest for boys, from one to two years later. Furthermore, Bolton¹⁰ refers to studies by Smedley and by Leslie I. Reed in support of the idea that vital capacity is considerably affected by the extent to which one engages in physical exercises. Baldwin's¹¹ researches show that the curves for the development of lung capacity are quite similar to those for weight and height in that there is a preadolescent retardation followed by an increased adolescent growth. Concerning sex differences he says:

The girls as a group show a smaller breathing capacity than do the boys. The girls reach their periods of cessation of growth before the boys. The boys' curves show more concavity during the pre-adolescent age than do those of the girls, and the general shape of the curves differs.

¹⁰ Bolton, F. E.: *Adolescent Education*, p. 62. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931.

¹¹ Baldwin, Bird T.: "The Physical Growth of Children from Birth to Maturity," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1921, p. 77.

Another important change experienced during adolescence is that of muscular growth. At the age of eight the muscles constitute slightly over one-fourth the body weight (27.2 per cent), while by sixteen muscular growth has come to constitute 44.2 per cent. Tests by means of the ergograph reveal the waning of muscular strength with the fuller onset of adolescence. By the time boys have reached the age of sixteen their strength of grip has practically doubled that which they had at the age of eleven; but although this growth continues for a number of years, there is little further growth per year following the development into maturity. Tests for strength of arm, strength of back, tapping, endurance, and the like all reveal that there is a great acceleration with the onset of adolescence; thus, one would expect such a development to begin with girls earlier than with boys.

That there is an unevenness in growth from birth to maturity is verified by all studies in this particular field. The unevenness was early noted by Hall, who drew a descriptive picture of the adult as he would be if the various parts of his body had grown proportionally from birth to maturity. He writes:

The skull and face would be enormous, the neck long, the shoulders low or almost absent, the thorax narrow laterally but deep from front to back like [that of] a quadruped, the arms and especially the legs short, the hips small and feeble.¹²

Interrelation of traits.—Coefficients of correlation obtained between various measurements indicate that

¹² Hall, G. Stanley: *Adolescence*, Vol. I, p. 60. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1904.

physical growth is very complex. And while correlations indicate that individuals superior in one developmental trait are likely to be superior in others, the degree of relationship varies considerably for different combinations of such traits. Furthermore, correlations are

TABLE V

MEAN CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CERTAIN PHYSICAL TRAITS FOR AGES THIRTEEN TO FIFTEEN (BALDWIN, 1920)

	AGES 13, 14, 15	
	Boys	Girls
Height—weight.....	.821	.618
“ —breathing capacity.....	.776	.716
“ —sitting height.....	.902	.892
“ —chest girth.....	.671	.426
“ —strength of right arm.....	.607	.504
“ — “ “ left “.....	.593	.416
“ — “ “ upper back.....	.513	.546
Weight—breathing capacity.....	.764	.489
“ —sitting height.....	.804	.622
“ —chest girth.....	.883	.892
“ —strength of right arm.....	.715	.562
“ — “ “ left “.....	.668	.441
“ — “ “ upper back.....	.654	.462
Breathing capacity—sitting height.....	.787	.691
“ “ —chest girth.....	.722	.507
“ “ —strength of right arm.....	.642	.400
“ “ — “ “ left “.....	.633	.366
“ “ — “ “ upper back.....	.567	.417
Strength of right and left arm.....	.830	.829

not uniform for different age levels, although these are strikingly similar for the sexes, as is shown in Table V.

Baldwin and Wellman's¹³ recent study of eleven physical traits revealed that the most highly uniform relationships for both boys and girls were between weight

¹³ Wellman, Beth L.: "Physical Growth and Motor Development and Their Relation to Mental Development in Children," *A Handbook of Child Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.), p. 246. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1931.

and width of hips and between standing and sitting height. Baldwin's early studies gave ample evidence that some physical traits are closely and positively related to others, but that no single trait could be selected as one by means of which all developmental traits could be predicted. These correlations for boys and girls 13, 14, and 15 years of age reveal the relationship existing between the various physical measurements of groups within the same chronological age level. Other studies tend to corroborate Baldwin's results.

Referring to other studies that have been made, Wellman says:

A high or moderately high degree of relation between total carpal area and height, weight, width of shoulder, and width of hips was found by Baldwin, Busby, and Garside for ages ten to sixteen for boys, and eight to twelve for girls. Correlations of $.562 \pm .067$ and $.467 \pm .10$ between age of maturing and ossification ratio for girls at fourteen and fifteen years are reported by Abernethy. At sixteen and seventeen years the correlations were $.093 \pm .10$ and $.240 \pm .11$. Abernethy did not find a marked correlation between ossification ratio and height.¹⁴

Importance of Studying Physical Development

Physical development has been studied by various investigators by means of repeated measurements. Through the use of this method one is able to plot individual-growth curves as well as curves for different groups that would show race or sex differences. The greatest value of this method lies in the use made of measurements when kept over a period of time: they

¹⁴ Wellman, Beth L.: *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

then furnish a permanent objective picture, and the effects of various factors on development can be studied. Such measurements give a rather reliable index of the rate and periodicity of growth of boys and girls during adolescence.

In addition to the scientific value which data relative to growth may have, there are many applications that might be made of such data to a further understanding and guidance of growing boys and girls. Thus a study of the physiological differences in the rate of development of the sexes will give one a better perspective as to the earlier changes of interests among girls during their passage from childhood to more adult activities. This variation within either sex for the same age is again important in its relation to the physical education program. Still further, it appears that variation should be considered in the general sectioning of pupils, since pupils who have the same degree of physiological maturity tend to play together, being more alike in their social interests and activities. And, of course, mental-hygiene problems, behavior disorders connected with problems of discipline, pathological disturbances, and other maladjustments also can be better understood by studying the pupil's physical development. On the whole, then, the knowledge of these facts may establish one of the bases for a program well-suited to individuals' needs, better sectioning for extracurricular activities, and more harmonious social relationships.

Thought Problems

1. Look up various definitions of maturity and compare these for both their similarity and their differences. How is development related to maturity?

2. Cite some uses that can well be made of the measurements of a group of students in junior high school. What measures would you obtain?

3. What are the different methods used in studying physical development? Give the advantages of each.

4. Make out a select bibliography for some special phase of the individual's physical development.

5. In your observations have you detected in yourself a spurt in growth with the onset of adolescence? What other pronounced changes occur rather rapidly?

6. What is the significance of the lack of uniformity in growth discussed on pages 30-33?

Suggestions for Reading

Baldwin, Bird T.: "The Physical Growth of Children from Birth to Maturity," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, Vol. I, 1921.

Bolton, F. E.: *Adolescent Education*, Chaps. II and III. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931.

Brooks, F. D.: *The Psychology of Adolescence*, Chaps. II and III. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929.

Eldridge, Seba: *The Organization of Life*, Chap. I. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1925.

Sommerville, R. C.: "Physical Motor and Sensory Traits," *Archives of Psychology*, 1924, No. 75.

CHAPTER III

Mental Development of the Adolescent

The term "mentality" is used in this chapter somewhat synonymously with "intelligence." Often terms used in discussions of mental development are vague, since to begin with they are not technical. Psychologists have been attempting during the last several decades, and especially during the one just past, to give a more definite and exact meaning to these words. However, it is recognized that some of the words have been in more or less common usage for a long period and that, having come under careful scientific usage and scrutiny only recently, they may still be occasionally misleading.

The discussion in this chapter will be confined mainly to the adolescent stage of life, although it is widely understood that any interpretation of the mental characteristics of this period are directly related to and dependent upon the mental characteristics of childhood. Moreover, since many problems relating to mental development are strongly controversial, the materials presented here are given in the spirit of what scientific studies tend to point out. Some of the major problems to be studied are: The meaning of intelligence, or mental ability; the physiological basis of mental ability; the problems encountered in the attempt to measure mental ability; and the general nature of mental growth. The latter will include further subsidiary problems relative

to the uniformity and constancy of mental growth, the maturity age of subjects of varying abilities as well as those reaching physiological maturity at different periods, and the relation between the rate of mental and that of physical growth.

"Mental ability" and "intelligence."—Many writers have suggested definitions of intelligence, but these definitions have not always been in close agreement, since psychologists view intelligence from different angles and the concepts to which each holds reflect the particular emphasis of his trend of thought. In general, however, notions of the individual and his mental ability are becoming more biological.

A number of definitions presented in *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology*¹ are:

Intelligence is the ability to adjust oneself to new situations, making the proper use of one's thinking capacity.—*Stern*

It is the power of readjustment to relatively novel situations by organizing new psychophysical combinations.—*Burt*

It is a group of innate capacities by virtue of which the individual is capable of learning in a greater or less degree in terms of the amount of these innate capacities with which he is endowed.—*Colvin*

An individual is intelligent in proportion as he is able to carry on abstract thinking.—*Terman*

Intelligence involves two factors—the capacity for knowledge and the knowledge possessed.—*Henmon*

Intelligence seems to be a biological mechanism by which the effects of a complexity of stimuli are brought together and given a somewhat unified effect in behavior.—*Peterson*

¹ Pintner, Rudolph: "The Individual in School: I, General Ability," *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.), p. 686. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1929.

With respect to the various definitions and generalizations about intelligence, perhaps the most important controversies have centered around the theories of Thorndike and Spearman. According to Thorndike, the mind is to be regarded not as a functional unit but as "a multitude of functions, each of which is related closely only to a few of its fellows." He says again: "We may define intelligence in general as the power of good responses from the point of view of truth or fact."² Spearman considers intelligence as a general ability, the "eduction of relations and correlates."³ Thorndike's view has been referred to as a multiple-factor theory, and that of Spearman as the two-factor theory.

However, our interest in the nature of intelligence is not concerned with the finer distinctions set forth as to its exact nature; we are concerned here with the nature of mental growth and with the further fact that nature has been partial in the mental endowment of individuals. The discussions here will center in a working concept of traits commonly considered as belonging or closely related to man's intelligence. Most writers in this field appear to agree on the following general characteristics of intelligence:

1. Intelligence is principally innate.
2. Intelligence is closely related to learning and thinking.
3. Intelligence grows and develops into maturity.
4. Intelligence is concerned more with abstractions and generalizations than with concrete sensory experiences.

² Thorndike, E. L.: "Intelligence and Its Measurement: A Symposium," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1927, 12, pp. 124-127.

³ Spearman, C.: *The Nature of Intelligence and the Principles of Cognition*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923.

The physical basis of mentality.—Intelligence is not to be conceived of as something apart from the structure and function of the various parts of the body. Peterson's definition—"a biological mechanism by which the effects of a complexity of stimuli are brought together and given a somewhat unified effect in behavior"—emphasizes several important features of intelligence. First, intelligence is a biological mechanism; that is, we must think of it as the ability of the individual to function; and this presupposes a finely made structure possible of coördination, together with the coördinator—the nervous system. The statement further stresses the unity of the individual in response, which unity is effected by the coördination of the structures. The physical basis of mentality is, then, to be regarded not as either the neurones, or glands, or muscles, or other specific parts of the organism, but as all these taken together. Now the rule that a healthy individual will tend to fulfill the potential physical development peculiar to him, applies also to mental development; hence significant, if small, correlations will be found to exist between these two phases of development.

The measurement of mental development.—The problems pertaining to the measurement of mental ability are too many and too complex to be given fully here. Yet we must take note of the necessity for distinguishing between mental ability or intelligence, on the one hand, and mental content or knowledge on the other. Mentality as a native endowment is the inherited ability to learn to adjust oneself to the environment; and the degree of mentality that one possesses is measured by the complexity of the environment to which he, as

compared with other individuals of like age and somewhat similar experience, is capable of adjusting himself. The relation of intelligence to adjustment is treated more fully in the chapters on the mental disturbances of adolescents and juvenile delinquency.

As individuals go through life reacting to situations, many and diverse habits are established. Those relating to memory constitute one's mental content, and this content is therefore dependent upon the environment in which one lives. Still, it is impossible to conceive of mental content as wholly unrelated to heredity and thus intelligence, because one's ability to profit from some specific environment depends in no small measure upon the inherited neural mechanism. Most group intelligence tests really measure individuals' achievements, but insofar as somewhat similar average advantages have been had by all the individuals being rated, the tests supply indexes of intelligence. Again, mentality may be measured by setting forth, for the subject to perform, certain required mental tasks in which the use of content is minimized. Peterson's Rational Learning Test is a good example of tests designed to measure learning ability.⁴

Growth of intelligence.—All psychological studies show that there is an increase in mental ability with age, up to a certain period of life. However, there are many problems relating to the nature, amount, and cause of such an increase which inspire differences of

⁴ Peterson, J.: "Experiments in Rational Learning," *Psychological Review*, 1918, 25, pp. 443-467. Garrison, K. C.: "An Analytic Study of Rational Learning," George Peabody College for Teachers, *Contributions to Education*, 1928, No. 44.

opinion. Some of these problems will be brought into this discussion.

In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that the nervous system, which includes the brain, is relatively advanced in general growth (except in portions of its inner cellular structure) at birth, and that its growth is rather rapid during the early years of life. Hence one expects responses independent of the skeletal structure during these early years; mental ability does appear to develop quickly over this period. This is especially true of sensory processes. Thus the very young child is often spoken of as a sensory creature who is concerned largely with sensory phenomena. Yet any conclusion which we may wish to draw from this fact is qualified by our ignorance of how much the child's lack of experience, and therefore of ideas developed only through experience, handicaps him in mental processes which are not predominantly sensory. The incompleteness of these processes cannot be wholly ascribed to an incompleteness of the structures which sustain them; the child's lack of language experience is but one of the other factors which may enter.

Since tests composed with respect to variations in mental levels are used in measuring mental growth and the period of maturity, their results vary considerably. Interpretations of results, certainly, must not confuse growth in mental ability with growth in mental content, for the latter—the acquisition of information—continues more or less throughout life, while the former ceases comparatively early. Again, not only are mental-growth curves influenced by the type of intelligence test administered, but the units in terms of which the curves are

plotted will influence the nature of curves. If these curves are plotted in terms of mental-age units, a straight line will be the result, provided that (1) the units are plotted against the chronological age, (2) the test scores are derived from an unselected group, and (3) the norms used in the mental-age tests are derived from unselected groups for the varying developing ages. It must be recognized that months and years represent units of time, not necessarily similar units of growth; for in a given individual the rate of growth will be different at different periods in his life. After studying the age curves derived from many different tests, Freeman⁵ concludes that mental-growth curves approximate a straight line, especially during the school period (which has constantly been interpreted to mean that growth proceeds at a constant rate from year to year).

A rather logical as well as general interpretation of the nature of mental growth gives a curve of the type presented in Fig. 4, which is offered by Thorndike. If this is the correct interpretation of the nature of the rate of mental growth, it means that the increments become smaller and smaller with age. Now one would expect these increments to be related to and dependent upon the development of the brain and nervous system. However, there appears to be a growth in the inner cellular structure of the nervous system, as has been pointed out. Such growth and changes in the nervous system present during adolescence are probably functional in nature—although this does not imply that

⁵ Freeman, F. N.: *Mental Tests*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926.

there are no organic changes taking place. There is no mass development during this period, but the cellular development probably enables the mental processes to become richer and wider in scope.

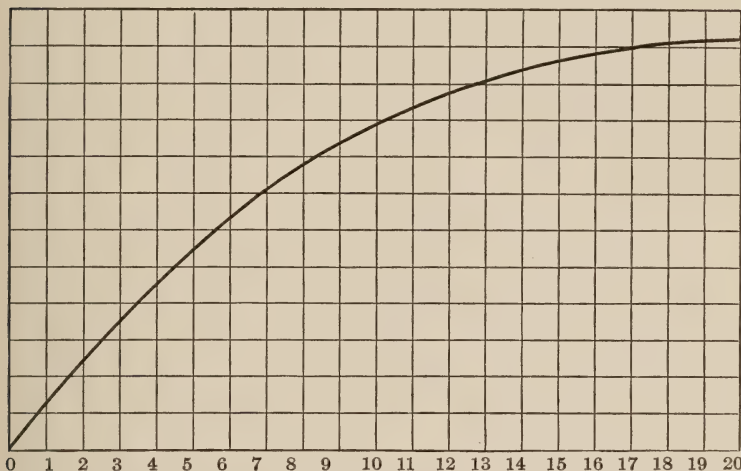


Fig. 4.—The General Nature of the Relation of Mental Development to Age in Years 0 to 20. (*From Thorndike's "Measurement of Intelligence"*)

Another mental-growth characteristic of special interest relates to the age of maturity, or limit of mental growth. Here again the difference between mental content and mental growth must be kept in mind; the fact that mental ability must be measured on the basis of the ability to perform tasks of a mental nature makes it imperative that such tasks should not involve much previous educational experience. Mental growth does seem to proceed rather rapidly during the early years of life, and even up to the ages of 14, 15, or 16; and then, according to Thorndike's analysis of H. E.

Jones' data,⁶ there is a slow increase up to 20. Whether the latter slow increase is an increase in actual mental ability or one of mental content is a matter of controversy. However, it is quite likely that many extraneous factors reduce the accuracy of the rates and limits derived for mental growth at any given period.

Constancy of mental growth.—Another phase of this general problem of mental growth concerns the variation in individual-growth curves. An analysis of individual curves shows that there are some variations from year to year. However, in the main there appears to be a great deal of uniformity and a general continuity of growth, as is further shown by the correlation method. The relative constancy of the I.Q. as found by Baldwin and Stecher⁷ through the correlation method gave correlations ranging from .74 to .94 for various groups. Garrison⁸ finds a correlation of .83 for 42 cases on the Stanford Revision of the Binet test after an interval of three years. Terman⁹ offers correlations of .60 or .81 (depending upon the method used) on retests of gifted children after a six-year interval. Terman concludes further:

Making due allowances for complicating factors in measuring IQ constancy, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that there are individual children in our gifted group who have

⁶ Thorndike, E. L., *et al.*: *Adult Learning*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928.

⁷ Baldwin and Stecher: "Additional Data from Consecutive Stanford-Binet Tests," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1922, 16, pp. 556-560.

⁸ Garrison, S. C.: "Additional Retests by Means of the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Tests," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1922, 13, pp. 307-312.

⁹ Terman, L. M.: *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. III, p. 30. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1930.

shown very marked changes in IQ. Some of these changes have been in the direction of IQ increase, others of them in the direction of decrease. The important fact which seems to have been definitely established is that there sometimes occur genuine changes in the rate of intellectual growth which cannot be accounted for on the basis of general health, educational opportunity, or other environmental influences. The opinion has often been advanced that something like this is true, but convincing evidence has hitherto been lacking, previous data having been limited entirely to retests by a single fallible intelligence without supporting evidence.¹⁰

However, the exact effect of the environmental factors upon the constancy of the I.Q. has not been adequately determined. A recent study by Jordan,¹¹ in which more than 1200 school children in grades one to seven were tested with standardized tests of intelligence, seemed to show that children from an inferior environment who begin their school work with normal mental capacities (according to intelligence-test scores) drop to the level of dullards by the time they reach their thirteenth year.

The results of the research of Catherine Cox¹² point rather conclusively to the conclusion that mental maturation proceeds by a gradual developmental process rather than by periodic transformations. Her investigation dealt with the early childhood and adolescent traits of three hundred geniuses born since 1450. Evidence relative to mental development was gathered from

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 477.

¹¹ Jordan, A. M.: "Parental Occupations and Children's Intelligence Scores," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1933, 17, pp. 103-119.

¹² Cox, C. M.: "The Early Mental Development of Three Hundred Geniuses," *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. 2 (1926).

authentic records. Such data as the individual's age when he learned to read, progress in school tasks, types of books read at different ages, general reputation among fellow students along intellectual and scholastic lines, size and quality of vocabulary, creative work, and the like were gathered. Her studies and evaluations, conducted with the assistance of several psychologists, gave evidence not only that superior abilities were forecasted from early achievements, but that the directions of such abilities were in many cases rather definitely foreshadowed by childhood interests and other behavior preoccupations.

Pubescence and mental growth.—Some investigators, however, give some evidence that pubescence is preceded or accompanied by a fairly rapid rise of both the mental- and the physical-growth curves. Abernethy's study¹³ indicated that high-school girls who matured between ten and one-half and eleven and one-half years were superior in their school work to girls who matured four or five years later. The median I.Q.'s of her groups were approximately the same, 114 for those maturing early and 112 for those maturing late. However, in a recent study¹⁴ it was rather clearly pointed out that those who mature late profit by a rapid spurt in growth similar to that of those who mature early, and that the effects of the spurt in each group are nearly equal by the time adult life is reached. Apparently, then, pubescence

¹³ Abernethy, Ethel M.: "Correlations in Physical and Mental Growth," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1925, 16, pp. 458-466, 539-546.

¹⁴ Viteles, Morris, S.: "The Influence of Age of Pubescence upon the Physical and Mental Status of Normal School Students," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1929, 20, pp. 360-368.

has vastly more significance as a physiological change affecting various glandular secretions—especially those relating to sexual characteristics,—and the rate of growth in height, weight, and other physical measurements, than it has as a criterion for mental growth. Physical and emotional changes are much more closely related to the onset of puberty than are the more specific mental abilities.

Gesell concludes:

The nervous system, among all the organs of the body, manifests a high degree of autonomy, in spite of its great impressionability. . . . *It tends to grow in obedience to the inborn determiners, whether saddled with handicap or favored with opportunity.* For some such biological reason, the general course of mental maturation is only slightly perturbed by the precocious onset of pubescence.¹⁵

Intelligence and age of mental maturity.—Another problem of special interest and value in relation to the learning and the guidance of adolescents pertains to the age at which different individuals attain maturity. The quotation from Baldwin in Chapter II indicates that there is a rather close relation between height and the onset of pubescence. But another question of interest is: Do mentally superior individuals reach mental maturity earlier, later, or at the same time as normal and inferior children? Now if the superior child matures earlier, but the normal child continues to grow, differences would thus tend to be eliminated

¹⁵ Gesell, Arnold: "Precocious Puberty and Mental Maturation," *Nature and Nurture; Their Influence upon Intelligence*, in *Twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I, 1928, pp. 408-409.

with age. This, however, does not appear to be the case. Data from intelligence tests seem to indicate that bright children continue to grow mentally beyond the age at which normal children reach maturity, and that normal children mature later than the subnormal.

Wheeler¹⁶ presents data from a study in which the Dearborn Intelligence Tests, Series I and II, were given annually for six years to a group of North European and a group of Italian children six years of age. All the children had an I.Q. below 90 for four consecutive years during measurement. The results of these studies showed a negative acceleration with chronological age. And Wheeler then points out: "The results of this study emphasize the importance of special instruction and a differential curriculum for dull children."

On the basis of such experimental results we would draw mental-growth curves of the type in Fig. 5. Most authorities agree that normal individuals reach mental maturity at approximately the age of sixteen. According to the results of mental tests, the dull child approaches his limit of mental development earlier, while the bright child continues to grow mentally for a number of years. These theoretical mental-growth curves for superior, average, and inferior children illustrate this point. Furthermore, according to these curves superior children as a group maintain a lead which they take rather early in life.

¹⁶ Wheeler, L. R.: "A Study of the Mental Growth of Dull Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, May, 1930, pp. 367-378; "The Mental Growth of Dull Italian Children," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1932, 16, pp. 654-667.

Educational implications.—The problem of mental maturity and the divergence in mental ability with increased age is highly important for a further understanding of problems in secondary education. If there is an increase in individual differences with age, the

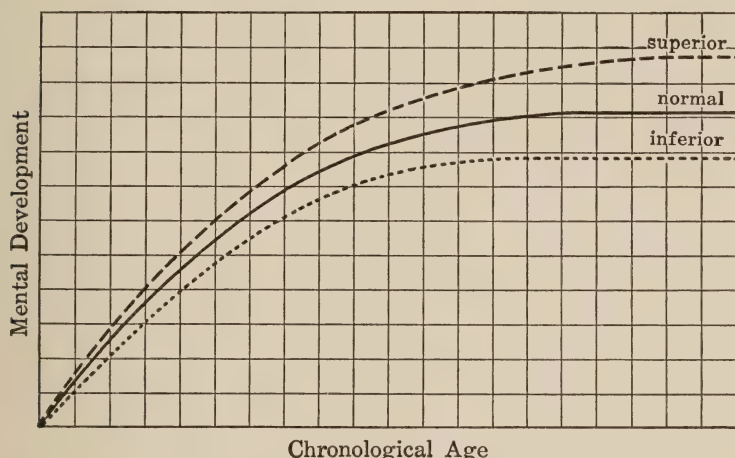


Fig. 5.—Theoretical Mental Growth Curves.

high-school teacher is confronted with the task of providing for an increased heterogeneity of her high-school population. There are two important aspects to this problem. The first has to do with native intelligence, and the second with what might be called acquired intelligence—mental content. Studies seem to show that native ability cannot be considerably increased through training.¹⁷ On the other hand, the acquisition of superior attitudes toward work, and superior methods of work, early in life undoubtedly aid an individual in his later

¹⁷ Freeman, F. N.: *Mental Tests*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926. Chapter XIII gives a good summary of the studies.

achievements; for as one advances in the high-school grades, he will find more difficult situations.

Educational materials and techniques should be adjusted to the widely differentiated abilities of the maturing adolescents. And this is one of the foremost problems of education today—a problem that strikes at the very heart of our standardized curriculum, which has been built without a full recognition of the nature and amount of individual differences. Some of its aspects will be studied later in relation to adolescent problems and the guidance of adolescents. But we may note here that there is needed a new philosophy of guiding and training adolescents that will develop subject matter and introduce techniques in harmony with individual needs and abilities, rather than attempt to adjust all individuals to a single pattern in the hope of creating thereby a smooth, standardized bit of machinery referred to as the “curriculum.”

Relationship between mental and physical development.—It was pointed out in the preceding chapter that individuals who are superior in one aspect of physical growth are more than likely to be superior in others; although, to be sure, the correlations between some traits were not very high, indicating that there are many exceptions to the association of physical growth in one direction with physical growth in some other direction. The questions with which we are here concerned are: What is the relation between mental and physical development? And more specifically, is the child superior in physical development likely to be superior mentally? Also, is the child who is slow in general physical development more than likely to be slow in mental development?

And, are some physical traits associated with growth while others are not?

The correlation between mental age and the carpal area of the bones has been studied by various investigators, and Baldwin, and Baldwin and Stecher, have found correlations ranging from .58 to .87 between these traits of development.¹⁸ However, these correlations show little relationship when the factor of age is statistically controlled. Wellman summarizes other studies, which are principally in harmony with these findings, as follows:

No relationship between mental age and width of chest, depth of chest, circumference of chest, breathing capacity, or grip was found by Baldwin when chronological age was held constant, although the raw correlations ranged from $.582 \pm .025$ to $.792 \pm .015$. Correlations ranging from negative to .38 for boys and .09 to .26 for girls between Porteus age and grip were reported by Berry and Porteus. Between Binet mental age and grip the correlations ranged from negative to .57. Vital capacity correlated with Porteus age .07 and .62 with Binet age negative to .50.

Weight-height ratios appear unrelated to IQ or to mental age when chronological age is held constant, according to Johnson and Stalnaker.

Mental age was found by Gates to be correlated to the extent of .212 with a combination of nutrition, ossification ratio, weight, chest girth, lung capacity, height, and grip; ratings of social maturity correlated with the team of physical measurements .374. A low but positive correlation was found by Cattell between mental age and a combination of height, weight, and diameter of the iliac.¹⁹

¹⁸ Baldwin, Bird T.: "The Relation between Mental and Physical Growth," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1922, 13, pp. 193-203; Baldwin, Bird T., and Stecher, L. I.: *Op. cit.*

¹⁹ Wellman, Beth L.: *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

Woolley's study of the relationship between various measurements of a group of school children and also a group of working children gives us some interesting findings somewhat typical of results found by others. The correlations between height and mental tests for the different age levels revealed no significant relationship. Table VI gives the correlations between the average percentile rank on a series of physical tests of: height, weight,

TABLE VI

CORRELATION OF AVERAGE PERCENTILE RANK IN MENTAL TESTS WITH
AVERAGE PERCENTILE RANK IN PHYSICAL TESTS (AFTER WOOLLEY)

AGE LEVEL	WORKING CHILDREN		SCHOOL CHILDREN	
	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Year 14.....	.33	.25	.30	.31
" 15.....	.33	.27	.40	.45
" 16.....	.37	.35	.22	.40
" 17.....	.30	.38	.19	.31
" 18.....	.32	.41	— .006	.05
Average of three or more annual tests.....	.44	.40		

vital capacity, strength of the hand, steadiness of the hand, rapidity of motion in a tapping test, and card-sorting. The correlation of the average of these seven physical tests with the average of the mental tests showed a more constant and thus an apparently closer relationship than was the case when height alone was tested. A close analysis and interpretation of the results of these comparisons of working and school children led Woolley to the following general conclusion:

In the first place, school children are more superior to working children when measured in terms of mental tests than they are when measured in terms of physical tests, except at fourteen years, when the reverse holds true to a slight extent. In the second place, while working and school children tend

to approach one another from year to year in physical measures between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, they tend to recede from one another in terms of mental measures.²⁰

Physical appearance and mental development.—The belief that there is an intimate relationship between mental development and general appearance has been and still is quite widespread. To review the history of this belief along with the investigations which it has inspired would carry us too far from our present general interest. (Donald G. Patterson²¹ gives a very good summary of studies dealing with various phases of the problem.) However, in passing we may note that Binet and Simon, in their search for some reliable method of measuring intelligence, devoted much effort to cephalometry and described their findings between 1900 and 1910 in *l'Année Psychologique*. Dr. C. Rose²² in Germany and Karl Pearson²³ in England also conducted early scientific studies, observing large groups of boys and girls; and they came to the conclusion—which has been borne out by many and more recent investigations—that in the judgment of intelligence no importance is to be attached to head measurements.

²⁰ Woolley, Helen T.: *An Experimental Study of Children*, p. 544. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926. (Quoted by permission of the publishers.)

²¹ Patterson, Donald G.: *Physique and Intellect*. New York: The Century Co., 1930.

²² Rose, C.: "Beiträge zur Europäischen Rassenkunde," *Archive für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, 1905, 2, pp. 689-798; 1906, 5, pp. 42-134.

²³ Pearson, Karl: "Relationship of Intelligence to Size and Shape of the Head and Other Mental and Physical Characters," *Biometrika*, 1906, 5, pp. 105-146.

Burks and Tolman²⁴ recently approached the problem differently by selecting pairs of brothers or sisters who were rated by several persons for their similarity in physical appearance. Their study included 141 pairs of white, English-speaking, like-sexed siblings, from elementary and high schools. Correlations were obtained between the intelligence quotients and resemblance ratings, but these correlations revealed no evidence of a linkage between intelligence and general appearance.

Mentality and the adolescent.—The fact that pubescence occurs in different individuals at such different times, even for the same sex, makes individual prediction rather difficult. However, in respect to educational growth there is much evidence showing that objective educational data gathered in the early grades are significant in the prediction of educational achievement in high school. A rather complete study in which the same group of 94 students were studied as they progressed from the fifth through the eighth grades was made by Adams;²⁵ further data concerning these pupils have been gathered by S. C. Garrison for the fourth and ninth grades. Coefficients of variation for the combined educational tests have been found as follows: fourth grade, 9.4; fifth grade, 9.8; sixth grade, 11.75; seventh grade, 13.2; eighth grade, 10.5; and ninth grade, 10.1. Thus we note an increase in variability from the fourth grade

²⁴ Burks, B. S., and Tolman, R. S.: "Is a Mental Resemblance Related to Physical Resemblance in Sibling Pairs?" *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1932, 11, p. 1.

²⁵ Adams, Carl L.: "A Study in Variability and Grade Progress," George Peabody College for Teachers, *Contributions to Education*, 1927, 48, pp. 24-25.

through the seventh and a decrease from the seventh through the ninth; and the tendencies are consistent and continuous. These findings are in harmony with what one would expect in view of the wide range of years during which individuals' pubescence may occur, and in view of the variation in rate of growth of individuals of different ancestry. In those grades in which pubescence normally is to be expected for the majority of the subjects, the group becomes less homogeneous; there appears to be a more marked tendency towards homogeneity as the pupils pass into the post-pubescent period. These factors offer at least a possible explanation, and no doubt are in some manner related to these findings. Yet one must not generalize too much on the general implications; for change in subject matter in the school program, change in interests, physiological maturity, and the approach to mental maturity also are important in the generalization.

This survey of some of the more important findings concerning mental growth demonstrates that many prevalent notions of the nature of mental growth and its special characteristics during the adolescent period are very much exaggerated. There is positive proof of the growth and maturation of intelligence, and individual-growth curves reveal that differences exist in the rate and amount of growth; there is some evidence also that dull children reach maturity earlier than average and bright children. The negative evidence of the association of mental and physical characteristics is developing a changed attitude towards the mentality of special physical types. The evidence that mental growth during adolescence is not different in its general

manifestations from growth during any earlier period of life points out that adolescence is not a period set apart from other periods, but rather a continuance of child growth in which maturation is being neared. On the basis of these findings, then, schools and various organizations interested in adolescent boys and girls need not look upon them with fear or interrogation: each subject should be thought of in terms of his past development and present status.

Thought Problems

1. Look up several definitions of intelligence and compare them with those given in this chapter.
2. To what extent is mental development related to the age of pubescence? And thus, to physical maturity?
3. What is meant by "tempo of growth"? What are some facts that might be related to this as we study adolescent growth?
4. How is mental ability related to learning? How should this affect the curriculum prior to adolescence?
5. What are some of the different methods of measuring mental development? Why might an application of one of the methods to a group of adolescents be unfair to some?
6. What mental expansion in yourself took place as you reached high-school years?

Suggestions for Reading

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- Godin, Paul: *Growth During School Age* (Trans. by S. L. Eby), Part I. Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1920.
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CHAPTER IV

Adolescent Motivation

The meaning of motivation.—One of the most important problems relating to the behavior of all animal life is that of the causative factors of behavior. One has only to examine the behavior of any individual to realize that activity is incessant; it is present in both our conscious and our unconscious state, in periods of rest and quiet, in stress and strain. The human organism, like lower forms of animal life, is ever responding to certain specific changes in the environment. Now the problem of motivation is concerned with the *why* of these responses. It is generally stated that “behind” every act is some stimulus that causes the act. The psychology of motivation as it applies to the adolescent thus attempts to explain some of the underlying causes of the various activities of the adolescent, and especially as these are peculiar to this specific stage of life.

Man has always attempted to explain the causes of specific behavior activities, and especially those activities which are out of harmony with usual behavior trends. Reason was early described by Plato as an abstract but specific entity controlling man’s more complex forms of behavior. The questions, “*Why?*” and “*What for?*” are now the common terminology used in the attempt to ascertain the motivating force in behavior. However, “reason” or “cause” in this discussion must be thought

of in terms either of relations inherent in the individual organism or of relations between the changing individual and the variable forces of the environment. Motivation is therefore not to be considered a new element, introduced into the behavior activities of the present generation; it has been a phenomenon among men from the beginning, and is found to exist in the behavior of all lower organisms.¹

The motivation of human behavior cannot be explained wholly upon a stimulus-response (S-R) basis, for we must not neglect to note that the readiness of the organism to respond varies, being determined by internal physiological conditions. Hence we may use the S-O-R, or stimulus-organism-response basis. This third element, often termed the "drive," is illustrated in the ancient Roman custom of presenting the persecuted Christians not merely to lions but to *hungry* lions; that is, the lions were deprived of food for many days before they were released into the arena, and in consequence their response to the spectacle of the Christians was much more violent than it would have been had they been regularly fed. Everyone knows that the response of a tired man to a comfortable bed is more decided than that of a rested man; and that the sight or smell of food is a strong stimulus for the salivary glands when one is beginning a meal but is rather ineffective in bringing about a secretion in these glands when the meal is done. We may, therefore, conceive of stimuli as signals for the release of certain

¹ For a good discussion of the place of motivation in the behavior activities of lower organisms, the reader is referred to Jennings, H. S.: *The Behavior of Lower Organisms*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1906.

energy units; which implies that energy changes and energy resources of the active organism are powerful factors in conduct. One must not overlook the importance of habits built up around such energy changes; but in the last analysis animal behavior is the result of energy changes which are constantly going on within the organism.

Conditioned vs. unconditioned responses.—Behavior activities have been given many classifications. One of the most recent and widely used classifications grew out of the studies of Pavlov in the beginning of the present century.² While working on the physiology of digestion, using dogs as subjects, he introduced a minor operation, so that saliva could be conducted through a tube running from the dog's submaxillary gland through the cheek. He then noticed that the salivary response was promptly aroused, and by means of the apparatus devised could be measured, when food was smelled. Furthermore, he noted that the salivary response was aroused by various elements in the environment, such as the sight of the food dish or the approach of one who usually brought the food. Again, in order to study more carefully the process by means of which the animal had come to respond to these elements in his environment, he arranged the now classic experiment in which an electric bell was sounded a little before the presentation of food. After this procedure had been repeated a number of times, the dog would exhibit the salivary reflex following the sounding of the bell as a stimulus, even though the food was not immediately supplied.

² Yerkes, R. M., and Morgulis, S.: "The Method of Pawlow in Animal Psychology," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1909, 6, pp. 257-273.

This salivary reaction made to the sound of the bell as a stimulus was called by Pavlov a "conditioned reflex." The fundamental principle of the conditioned reflex is: *If an incidental stimulus is presented many times along with one that already arouses a specific reflex response, the incidental stimulus will cause the particular reflex response to appear.*

Conditioned behavior is distinguished from unconditioned behavior in that the response once made only to a specific stimulus is later made to a part of that stimulus or to another stimulus that was concurrent with the original.

It should be pointed out that conditioned behavior is not confined to reflex behavior. A review of the work of Watson shows the application of the conditioned response concept to emotional behavior. Further studies relative to this problem are discussed in relation to the various emotional stimuli as motivating forces tending to liberate certain emotional drives of the organism. Our concern is not to present the controversial issues of conditioned behavior, but to show the nature and function of these early conditioned and unconditioned processes. Conditioning is recognized as having a wide range of applications. The fundamental principle, however, is set forth in the statement presented as an outgrowth of Pavlov's classic experiment.

Instinctive and socialized responses.³—In considering the nature of instinctive and acquired forms of response, one can readily see the impossibility of clearly isolating

³ "Instinctive" connotes here not a specific behavior response but rather a response prompted by innate factors in the human structural equipment.

one force in order the more easily to study the other. The effects of heredity and environment are so mutually influential that even soon after the fertilization of the ovum from which the embryo and finally the young infant develops, one can hardly distinguish the contributions of either. At the moment of the fertilization not only does physical development begin, but various behavior patterns start taking form which are destined to function importantly throughout the individual's life. This being the case, one cannot, we repeat, isolate either element for study. One can never determine with absolute certainty the relative values of these two forces any more than one could determine the relative values of the clay and the kiln in the making of bricks.

Yet this issue is too important to pass by merely because we cannot know these relative values with certainty. A study of the contributions of heredity and environment, so far as we can identify them, is of utmost significance in an understanding of human behavior and the goals of civilization, and in their betterment. School and home can eradicate many of the evils of ignorance, superstition, and crime which are due to bad environment; but the undesirable conditions of life which are the direct result of heredity cannot be eradicated—the sow's ear will never make the silk purse. Heredity itself cannot be changed; and only by the practice of eugenics among particular individuals—a none-too-certain practice, at best—can its evil effects be avoided.

The innate and acquired phases of human nature are found to exist in all types of human activity soon after birth. Some writers on educational psychology have so

expanded the term "instinct" that it is used to designate all those drives and motives with which we are concerned in education. This confusion of the innate structure with the structure as it has been modified and integrated by experience into larger units or patterns has led to much dissatisfaction with the word. Yet no sharp line of distinction can be drawn between activities that are prompted by physiological conditions, goals which satisfy the organism, socially conditioned drives, or more remote forms of motivation in the form of ideals. These are found to blend in all types of human activity as the individual develops socially and intellectually.

One question with which all living things are confronted is: When do we eat? This factor is very important during the development of the individual, and its examination as a biological form of motivation will show that eating has become highly socialized. Manners of eating in themselves come to have a sex attraction. Love feasts and servings at parties and various other social functions tend to add zeal and zest to the general social situation.

Another question which comes to the attention of the adolescent is concerned with the expenditure of the energy and urges of sex. Owing to the rising standard of living, which demands an extended training of the individual if he is to compete successfully, adolescent boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen years are not economically prepared to raise a family. Yet the original nature of man remains substantially the same despite the constancy of invention and discovery, so that these adolescents are forced to modify the sexual impulse. In other words, the adolescent is equipped

biologically like his ancestors of several centuries and even of several thousands of years ago, but the evolving social structure has been increasing the necessity for adjustments and modifications of the original drives; the adolescent's energy must be directed into new channels according to new standards which society has fixed in consequence of its trial-and-error experiences. Thus the sexual urge, like the hunger urge, has been socialized. One need not draw deeply from his experience to find instances of this process. Modern courtship, much rivalry and jealousy, social functions such as the dance, shyness, and various other phases of social life definitely represent the socialization of the sexual impulse.

Characteristics of native tendencies.—Having noted the interrelation of man's original nature and his conditioned nature—his instinctive and socialized responses—we now consider the nature of these inherited tendencies as they operate in the control of human conduct. In the preceding discussions, it has been indicated that the more complex forms of unconditioned behavior often referred to as instincts are not specific and invariable, but are modified in harmony with man's social experiences. However, in order to understand better the nature of adolescent drives, a brief description of the characteristics of man's instinctive tendencies will be presented. And we may ask the question: Upon what basis is an act to be judged innate?

Some activities appear very early in the life of the newborn babe, apparently before he has had any opportunity of learning. Such activities are usually referred to as reflexes, and when these are more complex in nature, involving more reactors and affecting more than a local

part of the body, we have a form of behavior approaching that usually referred to as instinctive. Much controversy relative to the notion of instinct has been carried on in psychology, but the present writer will not attempt to explain or even give a detailed classification of activities conceived of as instincts. However, that certain neural coördinations are more easily established than others, and thus that some specific neural pathways offer less resistance to the passage of impulses than others—causing specific habit patterns or reaction tendencies to develop early in life—seems quite obvious from our observations of the establishment of certain activities relating to food, sex, and some rather well-defined forms of protection.

With the onset of adolescence many new patterns of behavior pertaining to sex appear. One cannot well say to what extent such behavior patterns are due to the maturation of neuromuscular and glandular structures and to what extent to the conditioning forces of society. Apparently both maturation and conditioning are influential. Universality is a criterion for instinctiveness that would lead one to conclude that there are structures maturing during the adolescent period that somewhat predestine the normal individual to develop a balanced sexual relation with members of the opposite sex. This maturation in structure and function can best be thought of in terms of the neuromuscular and neuroglandular connections related to sex. The maturation hypothesis is applicable here to the development of behavior; however, in adolescents in civilized surroundings many conditioned or socialized responses have, of course, already been established.

Concerning these maturing and developing forces as they appear in adolescent life, Ogden writes:

The delay in ripening, and the rather sudden change which both boys and girls undergo in adolescence, have often led to the conclusion that unlearned types of behavior are transitory, appearing suddenly at a certain level of development, and thereafter disappearing with equal suddenness. But it has been found difficult to maintain a theory of saltatory development, even on grounds so firm as those afforded by the facts of puberty; and it is equally difficult to suppose that a pattern of behavior which involves the whole organism should wane and disappear altogether after it has once made itself manifest.

Accordingly, recent investigators have been at pains to find antecedent behavior which should furnish, as it were, the roots of these growths; and likewise evidence of a late flowering even after the first fruits have been plucked. Against the saltatory theory, as applied to adolescence, it has been shown that the pre-adolescent is not unsexed, nor is it possible to detect the precise beginning or ending of those traits and interests which characterize the period of adolescence. On the other hand, a marked change does take place in adolescence, and the attraction of sex does wane in later life.⁴

Hunger and thirst.—In the functioning of our bodies and in the continuation of the species, the essential processes are cared for by physiological structures and by various forms of automatic activity which occur even during the earliest period of life. Among these processes, which are classified as biological or physiological, and even as instinctive, are *hunger* and *thirst*. Other such processes present in man's emotional equipment will be considered in another chapter.

⁴ Ogden, R. M., and Freeman, F. S.: *Psychology and Education*, pp. 60-61. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1932.

Since food and water are steadily being lost from the body the only way in which a constant supply can be maintained is by means of storage and gradual release. Food is stored in the well-known forms of fat and body starch or glycogen, and probably also as protein in small masses in the liver cells. Water is stored in tissue spaces and in tissue cells. As need arises, these stored reserves are set free for use. The reserves themselves, however, must be replenished. It is the function of hunger and thirst as automatic stimuli to make certain that the reserves of food and water are maintained.⁵

Now in adolescence the individual is reaching into a realm of delectable eats and strongly flavored drinks, and his appetites at this stage of life are for various foods and drinks that are pleasant in their immediate effect. This tendency is further accentuated by the socialized habits and customs prevalent in which eating and drinking become an important by-product. Often during this period the individual is likely to eat and drink in excess, owing to a lack of established habits of temperance; hence habits of an appetitive nature are being established at this time of life that are likely to be detrimental later on. These appetites become drives and are urges to further pursuit of an activity which brings immediate pleasure, whatever its final effect. Yet the demands of the individual for food and drink are present from birth, and constitute a more or less reliable guide for the care and replenishment of special bodily needs. Moreover, these drives become socially conditioned in harmony with the widened social activities of growing boys and girls.

⁵ Cannon, W. B.: "Hunger and Thirst," in *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.), pp. 434-448. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1929.

Appetitive impulses relating to hunger and thirst are so conditioned in the life of the civilized adolescent that we may fail to appreciate how they would appear even independently of food and drink. Their expression has been socialized—socialized so profoundly that our interest should center on them primarily in the light of their conditioning by modern social forces. In order to realize more fully the influences of society upon the individual, one should imagine the behavior of an adolescent who has not been exposed to social influence. Such an individual would be without language, without traditions, without morals—except of a very personal, narrow, and selfish type—and without those socially acquired habits which tend to regulate man's more primordial urges according to social welfare. And, as regards behavior resulting from food and hunger, he would be found to be roaming about, eating irregularly as to both time and substance. At least, we could be sure that he would contrast strongly with the civilized adolescent; and the apparent significance of social training would be in proportion to the contrast. Still further, the contrast would suggest to an extent how other impulses which are deep-seated in original human nature may find social expression in adolescence.

The nature of feelings.—Taken together, feelings and emotions may be referred to as the affective experiences of the individual, as contrasted with his more purely unconscious physiological responses. But when we consider the "feeling state" of man let us not think of it as some qualitatively isolated form of activity. "The affective experiences may be wholly or partly visceral in origin. At moderate intensities they are vaguely felt and poorly

localized, but in greater intensities they are less difficult to observe."¹ Again, any statement concerning feelings must be based largely upon introspection or subjective data; there is practically nothing of an experimental nature to offer as a proof for one theory or another. However, practically all definitions describe feelings in terms of man's affective life and thus consider at least the two dimensions of pleasure and displeasure. Furthermore, it may be argued from the subjective standpoint, and with some justification, that feelings are either emotional accompaniments or are themselves experiences less vivid than an emotion. They are not states of knowing and reflecting. They are well-nigh impossible of analysis. The two complementary states or conditions result from one's becoming aware of some disturbance, and have been termed *pleasantness* and *unpleasantness*. It is a very difficult task to describe the feeling states here considered, but probably everyone has at some time been subject to them.

Feelings are quite often defined in terms of pleasure and pain, and this definition confuses simple affective experiences with sensory processes or experiences. Actually, pleasure refers to man's affective life, while pain refers to sensations. It is probably true that under ordinary conditions pain sensations are accompanied by feeling states of unpleasantness, but this relationship does not imply either identity or a necessary accompaniment. Most of us have experienced pain that brought relief from an unpleasant stimulation; and in such an

¹ Nafe, J. P.: "The Sense of Feeling," in *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.), p. 411. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1929.

instance the pain has been thought of as pleasant. If behavior is to be classified under various captions, therefore, we must be consistent: pain and unpleasantness are not synonymous terms and thus cannot be used interchangeably. Of course, there are many other patterns of behavior of an affective nature that result from rather localized physiological conditions.

The feeling element during adolescence.—Pleasantness and unpleasantness are not to be confused with certain sensations such as pain, a pin-prick, a sweet or salty taste, etc., although one can well recognize in retrospection that certain feeling states accompany these. The feeling states are each correlated with a fundamental attitude existing in the organism independently of the particular stimulation, and they must be recognized and dealt with accordingly. In interpreting this fact, Henry T. Finck says: "Men will and must have their pleasures. Social reformers and temperance agitators could not make a greater mistake than by following the example of the Puritans and tabuing all pleasures."

The pleasantness that enters into the life of adolescents usually involves some social element. Rivalry, success in some performance, eating in a group, team display, and the like are all characteristic of the social factor developing in the maturing individuals and thus giving vent to the feeling element of life. It is by means of such activities that adolescents come to develop many virile character qualities. The general view that the feeling states reach their height during this period is at least in part true. And to deny an expression of these feeling states is only to suppress the normal development of the personality.

The nature of emotions.—Most writers recognize in the emotional experience an intensity which is not present in a simple feeling state. As Pieron states, “An emotion is essentially an affective reaction of an intense character.”⁷ As to just what definition shall be used for emotions, however, there is slight agreement. From a truly introspective standpoint, Ruckmick describes an emotion as “a complex mental process usually started by a percept or an idea and involving at once a thorough-going disturbance of both mind and body which gradually decreases in its complexity and strength.”⁸

But Rexroad, a behaviorist, tells us:

These profound and temporary changes in the viscera, whether caused by the secretion of adrenalin or by impulses passing out over the autonomic system, are the emotions, or at least a large part of emotional responses. Whether we are to mean by an emotion only visceral disturbances as determined by definite excitants or to mean the visceral disturbance together with its effects on manual behavior, is an arbitrary matter. In this book we shall mean only visceral behavior when we speak of the emotions.⁹

It would seem that somewhere between these two concepts is a working viewpoint which embodies the essential principle of each. If we study the definition presented by Ruckmick, which is somewhat characteristic of his particular school of thought, we find in it a “mind origin” idea. Now emotional experiences cer-

⁷ Pieron, Henri: *Principles of Experimental Psychology* (Trans. of *Psychologie expérimentale*, by J. B. Miner), p. 44. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929.

⁸ Ruckmick, C. A.: *The Mental Life*, p. 23. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928.

⁹ Rexroad, C. N.: *General Psychology*, p. 192. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1929. (Quoted by permission of the publishers.)

tainly possess some of the characteristics of complex mental processes: ideas are probably present in most if not all mental states; sensations also are present, and these surely embody mental processes. However, the description by Rexroad of bodily disturbances and emotional feelings somewhat analogous to these cannot be wholly denied. That the viscera play a prominent rôle in man's emotional life not only has been recognized from the days of antiquity, but is surely substantiated by the great amount of research on the problem.

Hume observed, "Lively passions commonly attend a lively notion. In this respect, as well as others, the force of the passion depends as much on the temper of the person, as on the nature or situation of the object."¹⁰ Here, then, is a clear understanding of the part *capacity* or *potentiality*, also, will play in emotional life; and, besides, a relationship between imaginative capacity and emotional manifestations is proposed.

Space is not ample here for an enlargement of these points of discussion. However, with regard to the general structure of the emotional response, we have established a basis from which to work on the major problems in this and the following chapters.

Classification of the emotions.—Various classifications of the emotions have been made, but an examination of them reveals a striking overlapping and many arbitrary divisions. Descartes refers to the "six passions," James to the "four emotions," and Watson to the "three original emotions"—fear, love, and rage.¹¹ A rather

¹⁰ Hume, David: *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-1740).

¹¹ Watson, J. B.: *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, Chap. 6. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1924.

common classification is twofold, and is based upon a division of the autonomic nervous system into the sympathetic and parasympathetic systems. The division exists in an antagonism in which the visceral tissues are supplied with a double set of nerves, one from the cranial or sacral (referred to also as the parasympathetic) division, and the other from the middle (or sympathetic) division. One set of nerves augments the activity of an organ, while the other inhibits the activity. According to such an antagonistic structural arrangement, the visceral organs are, then, both inhibited and driven through the functioning of the autonomic system. However, for our purposes we shall consider as the major emotions the three proposed by Watson.

Love.—The emotion of love is directly related to the sexual impulse, and, like the motions of fear and rage, is the consequence of physiological disturbances, especially in the visceral and glandular parts of the body. The ordinary response is a relaxed state of the body, and in the infant child especially is accompanied by gurgling and cooing. But as Gilliland recently stated, "The earliest loves are not sexual in character, Freud to the contrary notwithstanding. However, sex stimulation gives pleasure and becomes a large factor in love responses."¹² The pattern, however, like that of fear, joy, and grief, seems to be inborn uncoördinated and unconditioned. It is somewhat similar in many different species, and is present at birth and through maturation. "It is of course not until the development of sexual maturity or adolescence that the full effect and extent of

¹² Gilliland, A. R.: *Genetic Psychology*, p. 293. New York: The Ronald Press, 1933.

sex influences become evident.”¹³ Because of social customs and group sanction, love responses are indirect and often rather subtle in nature, and this results in repressions and various forms of substitutions.

Since the various structures concerned with sex, and thus with love behavior, further develop and finally mature during adolescence, it is to be expected that there should be an excess of physiological manifestations of this emotion at this time. One must not infer either that love behavior appears suddenly in adolescence or that it is confined wholly to sex as sex is ordinarily thought of; for in the study of infants it has been found that the stimulation of the genital organs may cause smiling, which results from sexual experience but not from a sexual experience similar to that of the adolescent or adult. However, the fact that the emotions are so closely connected with visceral and glandular activities makes it apparent that, with the maturation of the sex and related glands, there will be a stronger tendency towards the love attachments and emotional manifestations associated with them. In this tendency probably the powerful social drives of adolescents, and their extreme loyalty and ideals, play an important part. This subject we shall consider further in connection with the various socializing influences to which growing boys and girls are constantly exposed.

Anger.—Anger (often referred to as “rage”), the manifestations of which are familiar to most of us, has been classed as one of man’s primary emotions. Probably it served a distinct value during man’s primitive existence; for when an individual is angered, certain

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

autonomic processes in his body prepare him for more violent exertion—for strenuous actions which may enable him to surmount physically an unpleasant situation, or even to escape death. Such processes result from the stimulation of the visceral and glandular parts of the body, which in turn is a result of the innervation of the sympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system. Today there are very few occasions in the life of the individual in which anger will tend to serve as an aid to man, but situations that provoke anger have by no means been eliminated with the development of a higher civilization. This emotion, therefore, still exists in the behavior of the people.

Both anger and fear are somewhat opposed to love. Anger is characterized by stimulation of an inhibitory or negative type in which the subject's activities are interfered with. The physiological changes have already been mentioned as having certain protective values in that they tended to aid man in ridding himself of the inhibitory, obnoxious, or dangerous situation. It is well-known that with the development of rational habits, conduct takes a higher form, being guided by reason and insight to a greater degree; but when an inhibitory situation is suddenly confronted, the individual's rational powers will often not operate to the maximum extent, and there is great likelihood of his conduct's being prompted by emotion rather than reason.

The ready giving way to anger becomes a matter of habit in the life of the individual, but various social, recreational, and intellectual pursuits will cause the subject to develop habits of forethought and to inhibit certain emotional tendencies that developed prior to

the age of adolescence. Thus these pursuits will aid the individual in his social participation. However, in the development of emotional habits of a desirable nature, too much emphasis has been placed upon the inhibition of emotions after they have arisen rather than upon the avoidance of the arousal of the emotions. The kind of self-control that is best is the latter. The establishment of such habits is, of course, a slow process, and should begin during the days of early social experiences prior to the establishment of contrary habits.

The moral value of "righteous indignation," such as socialized anger, may not be overlooked. For here the anger tendency is on a rational basis—if, say, it results from a desire for the betterment of the group. But even these forms of anger should not be encouraged too far, since harmful behavior is likely to ensue. Thus anger in social and economic situations not only may color one's attitude permanently but may augment the abuses against which it is directed. The attitude of the soldiers of the South and of the North following the war between the states is a clear and rather inclusive example of an undesirable socialized anger: here were groups whose anger was aroused by the suffering of friends at the hands of a supposed enemy.

In his discussion of the emotion of anger in relation to moral and religious experience, Stratton¹⁴ points out that the anger tendency may operate throughout an individual's life, and may develop certain forms of prejudice and lead to attempts to convert others to the "call." Anger, if developed as a protest against evil

¹⁴ Stratton, G. M.: *Anger: Its Religious and Moral Significance*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923.

practices, is likely to carry the individual to an extreme in his attempt to right such practices. A rational form of control, only at times supplemented by anger, is more desirable. The idealistic nature of the adolescent, especially, is likely to carry his anger too far. It is partially for this reason that there are always large numbers of boys in the 'teens ready at the first call to battle the enemy in time of war.

Fear.—Fear is one of the most pronounced emotions experienced by man, and it has ever played an important rôle in his conduct. A study of primitive races will reveal the great influence it has had on the development of standards of conduct, beliefs, and man's innumerable institutions. Our ancestors constantly resorted to various rites and practices which were founded upon the appearance in one form or another of this primary emotion of fear. This emotion is oftentimes even today misunderstood and misinterpreted by the masses. The work of the psychoanalysts has done much to give us a fuller insight into the influence of this emotion upon various phenomena of conduct as well as upon physical well-being.

Fear has come more and more into disrepute as a method of social control. Especially in the adolescent are its evil effects found to exist as fears begin to appear in certain social situations in a more permanent and stable form. To control by fear is, in the main, a negative method. Positive means of control, which tend more to bring into account such factors as suggestion, imitation, and guidance in the building up of desirable modes of adjustment, are more desirable. Moreover, as a child reaches adolescence it can be

observed that fear as a means of control loses its influence; in fact, the exaggerated fear tendency established in early life will leave an imprint upon the growing child, but it does not insure that his conduct in certain situations will ever be really desirable. The purpose that fear is designed to serve in the control of conduct can better be attained by more rational means. The place of fear in the various phases of the life of adolescents we shall give further consideration in connection with play, group activities, religion, and social life.

Learned emotional reactions.—There was a time when it was assumed that most emotional expressions were “just natural.” Children were supposed to have inherited special tendencies to be afraid of the dark, lightning, snakes, animals such as dogs, rabbits, frogs, and so forth. Also, it was assumed that they loved their mothers (and even fathers were occasionally mentioned) “instinctively.” It was thought natural of the child to “get mad” while his ears were being washed and when he was told that it was time to go to bed, and to respond instinctively to a thousand and one other situations of a comparable nature. Now, however, there is definite evidence that most of our emotional reactions, from infancy to senility, are but the products of training. In discussing the acquired nature of our fears, Watson makes a clear and most pertinent point when he says,

Children’s fears are home-grown just like their loves and temper outbursts. The parents do the emotional planting and cultivating. At three years of age the child’s whole emotional plan has been laid down, his emotional disposition set. At that age the parents have already determined for him whether he is to grow up into a happy person, wholesome and good-natured, whether he is to be a whining, complaining

neurotic, an anger-driven, vindictive, over-bearing slave driver, or one whose every move in life is definitely controlled by fear.¹⁵

Wheeler¹⁶ points out that the emotional development of normal adolescents follows three successive stages. The first stage involves the recognition of the self, which aids in the growth of psychological independence. The second relates to the appearance of an increased sexual emotion with a resulting interest in and changed attitude towards the opposite sex. The third is concerned with the development of certain idealistic emotional trends of a social, esthetic, and religious nature.

Primary and higher emotions and their rôle in social behavior.—However one may care to designate the emotional experiences of the human being, it must be admitted that from the point of view of common sense and everyday life these experiences vary not only in intensity but also in permanency and in degree of simplicity. Anger is certainly different from hate; the sex passion is undoubtedly different from certain forms of love; awe is not wholly fear. Thus we might continue with the higher emotions, listing on the one hand experiences which are relatively temporary and simple or unitary, and on the other experiences which assume a general pattern of expression and are more permanent.

In the higher emotions two factors are especially in evidence, one of which has already been referred to

¹⁵ Watson, J. B.: *Psychological Care of the Infant and Child*, Chap. 11. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1928.

¹⁶ Wheeler, O. A.: "Variations in the Emotional Development of Normal Adolescents," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1931, 1, pp. 1-12.

indirectly. The first of these is (1) an integration of many emotional states into a more complex emotional pattern, and the second (2) the presence of a degree of intelligence sufficient to give unity to the pattern of emotions and a fair degree of permanency to the emotional expressions. One who works with a feeble-minded person will be quite struck by the individual's lack of higher emotions. The emotions of the feeble-minded are transitory; reactions are not delayed; nor are emotional responses carried over consistently from time to time to varying situations. He harbors no special emotional attitudes, for attitudes and sentiments are not a large part of his behavior reactions. His reactions are not made up of ideas; rather, *fear*, *anger*, and *love* as socially conditioned will make up his emotional habits. The normal child will come much nearer to retaining emotional patterns and will be more likely to give them permanent aspects and integrate with them other mental-emotional behavior patterns.

It is significant that most religious conversions come before the end of adolescence—that is, during the years of greatest emotional pliability and instability. The technique of most church services is, in fact, pointed towards the creation of emotional excitement or “religious enthusiasm” and heightened suggestibility. In many instances the emotions aroused are of a primary nature; but for the person of average intelligence the emotions of reverence, love, awe, and possibly fear are integrated with various ideas and so constitute a higher emotion. Our lives are actually governed largely by higher emotional states. These are probably the basis of most attitudes, sentiments, prejudices, and even ideals, and

they are especially rich during adolescence because of the peculiar emotional and mental characteristics of the period. The adolescent's increased visceral growth, his new social contacts, his added sex drive and enlarged mental horizon, give him a group of traits which well-nigh predispose him to develop many and oftentimes very positive and intense higher emotional habits.

In intelligent behavior, certainly, a succession of emotion-provoking stimuli, a heightening of suggestibility, the development of a prepotent action tendency, and a decrease in pure reasoning—all of which find expression in an act of utmost individual and social import—may be found. While situations of the type delineated here are not so deleterious as many emotionally, if not socially, comparable conditions such as gang warfare, interelique struggles, lynching, and the like, they should serve to illustrate the nature and possibilities of behavior which comes in response to an emotionally toned stimulus, following preparatory emotional reactions.

Emotional control.—If emotional activity results in prepotent action tendencies, it is certainly necessary that a control be exercised over both the emotions and their expressions. But here it should be noted that there is a definite difference between emotional control and emotional repression or elimination; for whenever a man reaches a point such that he experiences no emotions, he is no longer referred to as an ordinary man but rather as a case or subject for psychological or psychiatric treatment. Life would be a deadly monotony but for some emotional experiences—if, in fact, it continued at all, which would be highly doubtful in the event that all emotions, including those of sex, were eliminated from

existence. Without emotions all family ties would vanish—love for wife, love for husband, love for children, love for parents: all would cease. Religion would disappear, for there would be no fear of God, no awe of God, no love of God. Governments would crumble without patriotism, feelings of security, and protection. To be sure, if emotions give us the bitters of life, they give us the sweets, also. The words of Tennyson imply the same thought: "The happiness of a man in this life does not consist in the absence but in the mastery of his passions."

Now we have noted that the emotions are closely related to bodily changes and are thus fatiguing, and unless there is ample opportunity afforded for recovery following periods of emotional upsets, individual injury is the unavoidable result. Furthermore, every individual develops emotional habits to such an extent that an emotional response to a situation today will be repeated if he meets the same or some similar situation tomorrow. The person who uses a *fear exit* successfully in one situation finds it to be an even more easily followed avenue of escape thereafter. The girl who cries in some specific situation cries much more readily in the next, unless she has learned that crying itself entails undesirable consequences. Some, of course, develop very orderly or almost systematic crying habits, so that their emotional attacks can practically be predicted irrespective of cause. The boy who "flares up" and curses today finds fewer serious inhibitions of such a procedure tomorrow.

Emotional control depends upon many factors such as nervous stability, certain physiological conditions, the volitional element, desires, beliefs, and general habit

trends. Emotional control is so directly related to habit patterns involving volition that one cannot separate this from such patterns. Emotional control, notably, is not well-developed in younger children, and in the adolescent one will find different levels of the development of this phase of life with respect to the different types of situations with which one might be confronted.

Summary of principles involved.—Biological and social forms of motivation become mutually interrelated very early in life; thus it becomes well-nigh impossible to designate particular acts as wholly the result of either heredity or environment. With adolescent growth and development, emotional drives become more powerful; emotional disturbances are more in evidence, and more complex emotional states of a social nature develop. The result of the development of these emotions is to give instability and drive to this period of life. Some questions of interest and importance relative to all forms of motivation are: Does the positive influence outweigh any negative influence that might ensue? In order to be able to answer this question, one must know the elements of the individual personality that are responsible for the behavior already existing, and must know the nature of the individual being considered. Another very important factor is: How permanent is the motivation? Too often a type of motivation is judged good or bad on the basis of immediate effect. If the form of motivation is to have any permanent value, it must be given an opportunity to operate successfully, and there must be no exception to the results secured. Is the social motivation in harmony with existing interests and drives? It is well-known that social motivation is well-nigh

worthless and, in some cases, negative, if it is contrary to existing interests and drives.

Thought Problems

1. Contrast emotions and feelings, and give a descriptive definition of each.
2. Give in your own words the James-Lange theory of emotions.
3. Distinguish between pleasantness and unpleasantness.
4. Are emotions in the main inherited, a product of meta-physical forces, or caused by the environment of the individual? Explain.
5. What are some of the more complex emotions which seem to become more pronounced in adolescents?
6. How do the emotions of the feeble-minded child differ from those of the normal child?
7. Read the biography of some dynamic character and try to find the motivating forces operating on his life during adolescence.
8. Make a list of activities which you think are instinctive. Study these with reference to the preschool experiences of the child. To what extent do you note environment affecting any of these activities?

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CHAPTER V

Socialized Drives of Adolescence

In the preceding chapter a differentiation was made between acquired and inherited forms of motivation, although it was pointed out that very early in life these become so interrelated that one cannot say that some behavior patterns are wholly a result of inherent forces while others are wholly a result of experiences. In this chapter will be discussed some of the problems related to (1) social consciousness during adolescence, (2) social approval as a motivating force at this period of life, (3) the development of particular emotional habits, (4) self-assertion and display in connection with the opposite sex, and (5) the growth of habits of self-control.

Social consciousness during adolescence.—Cooley¹ was one of the first of the modern sociological writers to emphasize that man is dependent upon his fellows in a large measure for his thoughts, emotions, and modes of behavior. This emphasis was formulated under the term *social consciousness*. According to Cooley and other social psychologists, the consciousness of any single individual is nothing more than the consciousness of the many social groups with which he has come in contact. If we consider the average adolescent girl in the junior year in high school, we will find an individual bound by

¹ Cooley, C. H.: *Human Nature and the Social Order*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

certain group standards, ideals, and general attitudes. The home and playmates have given her some lessons in loyalty, service, coöperation, and interest in others. School studies have brought her, through her imagination, into contact with peoples of other countries and with deeds of men of the past. She thus has a wider and deeper appreciation of direct experience. Her religion, her politics, her pride of family and state, and her respect for the opinion of others have been molded by her social group. However, the adolescent is constantly meeting new social groups, many of which have ideals and attitudes somewhat different from those previously met; and here, Cooley points out, conflicts are likely to develop, since the individual's standards as built up through contact with different social groups may not be harmonious. Thus the adolescent upon meeting such a situation is often referred to as "green" or "nutty," or by some other name which would indicate his failure to understand and thus enter into the behavior of the new social group.

Desire for social approval.—The desire for social approval has often been referred to as instinctive, but there is ample evidence from various observations and studies to show that it is chiefly due to the experience of the individual. The fact that we find social consciousness so clearly revealed in the life of the adolescent lends support to this contention. However, regardless of the extent to which it is instinctive, it does operate as a powerful motivating force during adolescence. The desire for social approval no doubt has as its basis certain major and subtle emotions, and furthermore it may be found existing in many forms during this period.

Sex, notions of self, and the like play a prominent part in the individual's growth and development. It is through these that the group is able to establish and maintain uniformity in manners, styles, interests, etc. The force of public opinion tends to cause the adolescent to accept readily the standards and customs of the social group; because of public opinion the individual endeavors to further his position in life, and takes pride in his success. The desire for social approval becomes integrated early with the major biological forms of motivation of sex and hunger, the natural tendencies of the individual becoming so modified as to gain it. The very fact that this desire is operating in the life of the individual is evidence that he is becoming a full-fledged member of the social group.

"In the higher forms of social integration, the dominance often goes out of the hands of a single man and is crystallized into law, customs, traditions, and social sanctions. . . . In most social organizations there is a limit to the powers of the dominant person, idea, custom, or force."² Now if we begin to study these limitations, we shall probably find homogeneity to be the main force. As the child reaches maturity and becomes more and more a social rather than an individual creature, the force of the rôle and opinion of the group grows stronger, and is especially prominent in the development of social consciousness. But if the adolescents of the group are homogeneous, the customs, rules, etc. will play a still more important rôle than they would otherwise. Homo-

² May, Mark A.: "The Adult in the Community," *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.), p. 782. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1929.

geneity itself depends upon communicability, similarity of interests and beliefs, and—especially—similarity of general racial features. When this homogeneity exists, control and social integration are more easily effected—a fact which should be carefully observed by those in charge of our educational practice and by those dealing with clubs and group programs designed for adolescents.

Again, the desire for social approval might be thought of in connection with more complex adjustments in the life of the adolescent. Let us consider the “sweet girl graduate” from high school just prior to her graduation, who desires a certain graduation dress and other novelties which will blend with each other and with her general makeup. The images of these articles as they would appear on her constantly run through her mind. She imagines her friends’ approval of this attractive outfit; she imagines herself winning Jack’s attention, which she desires greatly. But the economic conditions of her family are such that she cannot purchase the clothes, and she therefore must either do without the costume or find some means as yet unknown to purchase them. Thus one will find adolescents and post-adolescents often willing to resort to questionable devices in order to win the approval of their friends. Here we find the girl resorting to various devices in order to appear sexually attractive to the boy she admires. The beautiful wearing apparel will help her in becoming more attractive, and she recognizes that Jack is quite fond of such a type of costume; so she may deprive herself of the movies, other amusements, and even food in order that she may be able to buy what she considers necessities. Again, even petty crimes or misrepresentations may be resorted to in

order to win the approval. The average high-school girl's ego complex is well-developed around certain erotic tendencies, and these become more powerful as they involve the approval or disapproval of the male sex. The pleasures derived from some of the more primitive and subtle elements of original nature may even become secondary to these acquired and maturing forces of human nature sometimes designated as the sex instinct.

Habits as drives to action.—The importance of this topic in the study of the adolescent cannot be over-emphasized. Habits of a social nature are in their formative stage during later adolescence. They are simple and varied during this period, and are found to be very transitory in their general manifestations. Many mannerisms appear, being manifested in isolation from the individual's general habit patterns—which, in fact, are often inconsistent and changeable. The extent to which a habit pattern once built up becomes a drive to action will depend mainly on the extent to which it becomes integrated in the individual's general habit patterns and finally becomes automatic.

It has been found that attentive repetition of an act tends to make for automaticity of the act. Habits are continuous rather than periodic. A habit once formed is never completely eradicated from man's neural structure, for all changes which are effected must be built upon the structural patterns existing at the time in the individual. James recognized this in his well-nigh classical statement:

Every smallest stroke of virtue or of vice leaves its never so little scar. The drunken Rip Van Winkle, in Jefferson's play, excuses himself for every fresh dereliction by saying,

"I won't count this time!" Well! he may not count it, and a kind Heaven may not count it; but it is being counted none the less. Down among his nerve-cells and fibres the molecules are counting it, registering and storing it up to be used against him when the next temptation comes. Nothing we ever do is, in strict scientific literalness, wiped out. Of course this has its good side as well as its bad one. As we become permanent drunkards by so many separate drinks, so we become saints in the moral, and authorities and experts in the practical and scientific spheres, by so many separate acts and hours of work.³

Such changes as are made may become automatic in nature, but the old habit system operates under special emotional conditions when rational behavior is not so much in evidence. Even volition must be studied in terms of learning and can best be thought of in terms of man's habit system. All these habit patterns which tend to contribute to the efficiency of the human mechanism become potent drives for the initiation and direction of action. (This subject we shall consider further in connection with the adolescent's ideals.)

In considering the individual's emotionality as a drive to activity, one must not oversimplify the general development of emotional habits and their relation to mental life. Emotional habits should, furthermore, be viewed from the developmental point of view. As they grow in complexity, the various emotional habits become more and more integrated into the general makeup of the social adolescent. The new social experiences are thus colored by emotional habits that have been develop-

³ James, William: *Psychology* (Briefer Course), p. 150. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1892.

ing from the earliest days of life. Often emotional habits have taken on some peculiar form, as that of rocking the foot, biting the nails, wrinkling the face, etc., and they function readily when one is confronted with new and strange social situations. They become part of the individual's personality, as will be revealed in the latter part of this discussion dealing with the adolescent's personality. They are drives to special modes of behavior, and thus give color and individuality to the developing social behavior.

Heterosexuality.—By heterosexuality is meant the focus of interest upon members of the opposite sex. Now, in adolescents a wide range of reaction patterns relative to the opposite sex exists, and it is very difficult to generalize concerning the reactions of the group as a whole. However, since the sexual urge is present in every individual and probably begins to function influentially, if indirectly, quite early in life, it is evident that the differences between the reactions of various adolescents result from the direction which this urge has been given, rather than from its mere existence. Heterosexuality itself can be properly established only by social contacts with members of the opposite sex, and in these contacts two environmental conditions are essential: first, members of the opposite sex must be of sufficient numbers, of appropriate age, and of attractive personal qualities; second, an intelligently encouraging attitude on the part of parents and others concerned with the individual's guidance and welfare is necessary. If these essentials are absent, the child may emerge from adolescence with warped and shameful attitudes toward sex matters that may encumber him permanently.

Concerning the present relations existing between the sexes, Beard says:

Under the influence of science, sanity and candor, the problem of the relationship of the sexes is being met with less prudishness and more intelligence than twenty years ago. Each generation has had to meet it, but none has been so well prepared to do so as the present. Instruction in biology in the high school, the availability of pamphlets dealing with the subject for various ages, the keener appreciation of parents of their responsibility in teaching their children the facts of sex, the instruction in the subject in college hygiene, the greater frankness of the age and the opportunities in coeducational institutions for wholesome companionship between men and women are highly constructive forces in creating a proper sense of social and moral responsibility in dealing with the sex instinct.

A student may become the victim of unrequited love, but a coeducational school provides too much evidence of the charm of different personalities for a normal young man or woman to remain permanently handicapped by a one-sided love affair.⁴

Aberrations.—In the earlier years of life the sex impulse appears to act rather vaguely and indirectly, and therefore often assumes a form wholly out of line with the normal course and final outlet. The relationship between conduct during the earlier years of life and later sex life is not clear, but there is evidence that sex is somewhat related to the love behavior of the young child. With the development of the sex glands, and the maturation of the individual both physically and socially in a social world, many factors may operate to cause behavior resulting from the release of certain drives to deviate from

⁴ Beard, J. H.: "Mental Adjustment in College Students," *School and Society*, 1930, 32, pp. 475-479.

a normal or socially acceptable course. Some of these factors are: repression, ignorance, sex phobias, disgust, curiosity, or some other conditions emotionally toned. It is during the stage of the operation of such factors that trial-and-error behavior ensues. The subject will try many methods of adjusting himself sexually, and some of his efforts may result in perversions—habits which are undesirable either because they will bring ultimate personal dissatisfaction or because they interfere with normal social relations.

Sometimes an extreme attachment will develop between members of the same sex rather than, as is normal, between members of opposite sexes. This happens especially when there is a complete absence of the members of the opposite sex during recreational and play life, or when there is an excess of teasing or ridicule with regard to members of the opposite sex; or, still further, when there is a rather complete segregation of the members of one sex from those of the other. The latter often exists in school. On the other hand, an emotional shock due to frightful stories about sex activities may develop a sexual phobia or a feeling of disgust for members of the opposite sex that will tend to lead to aberrations.

One cannot lay down a fundamental principle whereby all aberrations can be graded or classed together, nor can the same causative factors be used in explaining all such behavior activities. Emotional stimuli or inadequate information may lead to a turning of the emotional life from members of the opposite sex to those of the same sex. A natural development of the subject in wholesome company with members of both sexes is essential for

normal adolescent development. Of course, it is not to be inferred here that guidance is unnecessary. Guidance, necessary at all stages of life, is especially necessary during the plastic years before ideals and attitudes desirable for the welfare of the group have been established. The failures during this period of life can very likely be traced to one or a combination of the following factors: (1) failure in some form of care and supervision; (2) inadequate or inaccurate information concerning sex life; (3) the development of sexual phobias or disgust, and (4) lack of proper playmates of both sexes.

Self-assertion before the opposite sex.—McDougall points out⁵ that self-display during the mating season, particularly by the male of a species, is the first manifestation of self-feeling; and this, he goes on to say, is connected with elation—or, in man, with a self-conscious attitude relating to the self's well-being and therefore forming a basis for pride. During the mating season there seems to be an overstock of energy which is stored up in animals and is released in the various courting acts which are initiated in response to specific stimulations. In certain species, notably among birds of prey, both male and female show this exuberance, and it is quite common to find it expressed through wonderful flying performances, circlings around each other, and calls peculiar to the kind. The male's showing-off before the female is particularly spectacular. Doubtless a feeling of pleasantness arises from these performances, owing to the growth and maturation of physical structures and

⁵ McDougall, William: *Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 62-66. Boston: J. W. Luce & Co., 1923.

reflex coördinations and the general release of bodily tensions.

Darwin gives a most striking picture⁶ of display by male peacocks and pheasants—their gorgeous crests and tails are given the optimum display before the female. Darwin further writes that the Angus pheasant appears to observe carefully the female's responses to his show; and this could be explained adequately not as a result of some instinct of pride but rather as pride which has developed from experience and from the structures of the organism that are now coming to fruition. This courting among various animal types involves activities somewhat subsidiary to sexual ends, and playful exercise is a consequence of superfluous energy which becomes in part directed toward members of the same species and of the opposite sex.

In the human race this assertive tendency can also be seen. Witness the young adolescent, with his daring spirit, overexertion, and constant display of strength and skill. His situation is similar to that of Darwin's pheasant. And the same can be said of the female of the human species: her feminine manners, her slyness, and her persistent efforts to outwit her rivals are all manifestations of this same tendency. Bonner writes:

It is certainly clear that in order to reach normal adult stature the adolescent must pass, during these years that comprise the adolescent period, from early lack of sex consciousness to a stage characterized by the exact opposite, namely, sex consciousness, and then to the stage of attraction to the

⁶ Darwin, Charles: *Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1873.

opposite sex. The preadolescent boy or girl has very little use for those of the opposite sex. The boy considers his sisters and her friends a nuisance; the girl considers her brothers and his friends rough and rather to be avoided. Thereupon ensues a time when each is shy and self-conscious in the presence of others; this to be followed e'er long by a stage in which each is attracted by, and wishes to be attractive to, the opposite sex. This last is the stage when in ordinary parlance the boy is in varying degrees "girl crazy" and the girl, in some measure, "boy crazy."⁷

Students of physiology and child psychology have shown that the secondary sexual characteristics of both male and female are dependent, in the final analysis, upon certain internal secretions, particularly those of the sex glands. General internal changes prevalent during sexual excitation have an emotional tone and cause a general restlessness which involves the whole of the organism's behavior. Marston offers evidence that during this state there is, in addition, a general lowering of the blood pressure. The sacral division of the autonomic nervous system is, it will appear, operating more than normally, and this unusual operation tends to direct excessive quantities of blood and glandular secretions into channels which—although they are often not so recognized—are directly related to the sex emotion. These changes are a result of profound visceral and glandular changes and, as we have noted, tend to affect all behavior of the organism.

Not all members of the sexes are attractive to the opposite sex, nor does the same person make an equal appeal to all. Beauty, good manners, "feminine quali-

⁷ Bonner, A. F.: "Emotional Problems of Adolescence," *The Child's Emotions*, pp. 228-229. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1930.

ties," health, education, and "personality" are but a few characteristics listed by boys as desirable in girls. Feminine good looks is usually listed as most essential to sex attraction, but its evaluation will differ from decade to decade. During the latter part of the nineteenth century curves were deemed the ideal of beauty; but within a period of twenty-five or thirty years after, curves seriously lost vogue. To draw his conclusions, one need only examine the styles of the past, whether of a century or several centuries, and compare them with each other and with those of today. Girls of former times had, indeed, their sex appeal; they were adored, surely. But if a girl were to appear today with their manners and dress, she would at best be viewed as a curiosity.

The generalization which might be made from these facts is that the vogue with respect to costume, manners, language, interests, cosmetics, hair-dressing, etc., makes for sex appeal among those contemporarily on the scene, but that if this vogue is revived later its followers may be considered ridiculous. The modern mother who insists on her daughter's imitating her in dress, manners, interests, and so on, either fails to recognize this truth or refuses to live according to its principle. When the facts are rightly understood, we may rightly appraise clothes, appearance, manners, and other subjects of controversy.

The response of the adolescent boy or girl to what is strange or forbidden must not be overlooked, for both curiosity and self-assertion are important in the motivation of conduct. Familiarity with an individual will tend to lessen the sex appeal of that individual. Thus, if the "new girl" in the community has a somewhat

different sex appeal, she will have an advantage over the others. Fickleness is indeed characteristic of sexual phenomena, especially in adolescence; and, it may be observed, changes of style serve to augment it by renewing elements of "strangeness." On the other hand, the spirit of self-assertion, which has already been noted as related to sexual life and which we shall consider further later on in this study, leads to lovemaking in the face of great obstacles. Thus *forbiddance* and *self-assertion* are often present in behavior as a combination which should not be ignored—especially by parents. Because of this combination, troubles often develop between parents and children in connection with courtship and marriage.

Jealousy.—Jealousy is a feeling state developed in relation to social situations. It results from another person's getting approval or attention which we coveted or thought we deserved. Jealousy follows the laws of habit formation and has as its basis the emotion of fear. It is one of man's subtle, secondary emotions and is probably a universal trait, although it varies in intensity among different individuals. An introspective analysis of the feeling of jealousy is very difficult to make, although it is observed by all in some degree at some period in life. However, while the individual suffering from jealousy may make a desperate effort to be a good sport, signs of his inner tumult may be visible in his face, in his actions, or in some more subtle form which one cannot easily discern.

A great amount of praise or satisfaction is often expressed for those adolescent boys and girls whose personality, behavior, and general achievements are out-

standing. But if this praise is continued too long or too intemperately, the admired person may develop habits and initiate activities which are antisocial and which therefore may make him despised by the group. Or, perhaps, he may become an object of jealousy through no fault of his own.

The sufferings of the jealous individual are often very intense, and unfortunately for him they usually persist without his knowing of their basic cause. He will endeavor to minimize or deny the jealousy, thereby obscuring its real cause. Repression is the consequence, and basic elements of the feeling become so submerged and disguised that they may appear only unnaturally and unrecognizably.

Feelings of jealousy are depressing. Moreover, they lead to introspection, oversensitiveness, and excessive self-consciousness—factors whose importance in introversion we shall note in detail at a later point. Jealousies, in fact, are often personality fears which are antisocial in nature, causing discourteousness and unsportsmanlike conduct. The “tattling” and the “dirty digs” of adolescents grow largely out of such feelings in connection with personality. Such are the expressions of behavior which tends to the destruction of the reputation and the inhibition of the success of fellow-members of society.

Since jealousy follows the laws of habit formation and is so characteristic of the social life of adolescents, it is well for the adolescent to build up feelings of a non-jealous type. Through effort, one can reduce the intensity of jealous feelings as he trains himself to divert his attention away from the self towards the activities

of the group. Freedom of activity in early childhood aids in this process, while imitation is quite often the prominent factor in the development of habits of jealousy.

The volitional element.—Probably no type of human or animal behavior has received more attention than that which is commonly referred to as *will power*, *volition*, or *decision*. Most psychologists who accept the stimulus-response hypothesis attempt to study behavior according to the implications of this hypothesis. In clinical observations of human behavior, however, one will often find activities present which seem to be self-initiating, or spontaneously arising from some inner power. Man, in particular, is characterized by the ability to set himself to a task and to continue this task from day to day until it is successfully completed, as is witnessed by the inventive life of Edison, the discoveries of Burbank, the studies of Pasteur, and the production of worthy art. This impelling force has been recognized for centuries in the conduct of man. Even the writings of the early scholars showed that they had a keen interest in the forces that control the activity of man. In the sixteenth chapter of Proverbs is presented a thought in which man's power of self-control is extolled—"He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city."

Plutarch (first century, A.D.) represents very well the early Christian conceptions as to the nature of man and the forces that move man in his various activities. To quote from Brett: "The idea, therefore, can control impulse . . . particular actions are regulated by the

causes that form mental states, habits, and the like, and training assists in forming these. Good actions in the highest sense depend on the will to do good.”⁸ Man’s thoughts were believed to come from something from the outside, from something not really himself, and his intuitions were considered revelations.

All through the philosophy of the ages one will find various interpretations given to the three elements of man’s life—the cognitive, the affective, and the volitional. The volitional element has usually been closely related in thought to the spiritual, the mysterious, or the spontaneous. Since this element is today conceived of as a habit system integrated with other types of habits and conditioned by various experiences of the organism, it is common to view will power as specific in nature and following the laws of habit formation in its development.

Volition and the adolescent.—Volition, or will power, is usually strong in the adolescent, probably owing in part to the fact that the egocentric tendencies of his earlier activities are so intensely manifested in group activities at this age. If an analysis of volitional ability is made, the influence of learning and habit formation is clearly seen. Indeed, with the added freedom and widened experiences of the adolescent, volitional control is present more powerfully than ever before. Although the volitional powers are present before the beginning of adolescence, prior to this age the individual, unfortunately, is usually not permitted

⁸ Brett, G. S.: *A History of Psychology*, Vol. I, p. 255. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912. (Quoted by permission of the publishers.)

much freedom. In an analysis of volition one should consider the habit systems that have been developed and integrated in the individual's makeup as well as the environmental situation in which such habit systems are likely to find expression. We note a rather well-developed power of self-control particularly in the growth of morals.

Summary.—With the development of the child into adolescence, new tendencies appear which present new problems to the adolescent subject. Preadolescence is marked by self-consciousness and a rather shy sort of behavior, especially in response to members of the opposite sex: this is a part of the general social development of the child, but is probably a result, mainly, of social conditioning. The desire for social approval, the new social consciousness, the enlarged mental life, and the ripening of certain tendencies are drives, all of which are usually present at this age and offer many different problems to growing boys and girls. Out of these tendencies may emerge a stronger volition and higher ideals; for at this period of development there is a further heightened emotional condition. Character education through active participation may become a very effective means of developing individuals with such tendencies into desirable citizens. The social drives that affect them are not always of a positive type, as might be inferred from the summary thus far presented; but it will be pointed out in later chapters that negative social influences may enter in to improve an individual who is rather seriously maladjusted to his social environment.

Thought Problems

1. How would you differentiate reward and approval?
2. Define "social consciousness." What emotional factors are related to it?
3. With what does social approval become involved early in life? Illustrate.
4. Look up several definitions of "jealousy," and on the basis of such definitions make a definition of your own.
5. What are the conditions necessary for a well-balanced sexual development? Do modern conditions meet this better than conditions of one hundred years ago?
6. What is meant by the term "aberration"? How is aberration related to the "crushes" so often present in the school which segregates boys and girls?
7. Elaborate on the thoughts presented concerning the behavior of birds in the presence of the opposite sex.
8. How is the volitional element related to instinctive responses? socialized responses?

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CHAPTER VI

Social Development

The Nature of Social Reactions

The individual as a member of society.—In the chapters dealing with physical and mental growth it has been emphasized that the development of the individual is to be understood on the basis of a combination of inherent and environmental forces. Now as we further view the child living and growing in a social environment, we note that he becomes a part of all the elements which are constantly stimulating him: he becomes “environmentalized” or, in the broad sense of the word, social. His earliest experiences are quite naturally centered about the home; it is here that he has his early physical needs satisfied. His social needs in infancy are indeed few, but they come to play a more and more important rôle as he grows and develops into childhood, adolescence, and finally adulthood. Temporal and spatial forces are ever operating in the regulation of our lives: so it is with the growing child, as social stimulation, play, and pleasure-seeking become important to his repertoire of behavior.

The epigenetic point of view offers a clear understanding of the true nature of developing social creatures: man as a social creature could not exist apart from the institutional life which has made him social, whatever

direction his growth has taken. Studies of individuals who have been largely unaffected by social and thus institutional stimulation reveal that man is social chiefly because he is born into a social environment. Needless to say, however, certain inherent drives exist which tend to draw individuals together. Some of these were discussed in the preceding chapters in connection with motivation, and will not be considered further here.

The entire structure of civilization, and the race of man itself, are a product of both social and biological evolution. The forces of social evolution are ever active; customs are changing, and each new generation is affected by forces quite different from those of preceding generations. One's life and growth at every point are conditioned by social forces operating through organized and unorganized institutions.

The early activities of the child bring him into contact with the home and its members—a social institution in itself. As he grows physically, emotionally, and mentally, he becomes less dependent upon the family and more dependent upon other institutions. However, the influences of early home life cannot be minimized; for here attitudes are established which are permanent and thus constitute the bases for later development. Many individuals dealing with child development fail, indeed, to recognize that the social attitudes of the child, as well as his overt social behavior, grow out of the social situations in which he lives and has lived. We may be sure, if a child is timid or conceited or has other undesirable social traits, that his faults are but a natural result of previous experience.

The social factor in development is powerful simply because the individual's life is social. Language makes it possible for him to know what others think of his actions, and at the same time gives him an opportunity to participate in group affairs more effectively. As he grows older he comes in contact with institutions and learns what part he may play in them. Many of these, such as sports, are definitely organized, so that if he takes part in them he must be guided by certain accepted rules and principles: thus he may meet with approval or disapproval, and will learn to coöperate with and be loyal to the group. He learns to place the welfare of the group above individual welfare. He exerts his influence in the group and in turn is conditioned in his behavior by the reaction of others.

What is meant by social development?—Social development is not to be differentiated from physical and mental development. These are all but different aspects of the individual's life, and are studied more or less independently so as to make it easier to trace development. Physical development has reference to the internal changes which occur as the individual becomes older, the term sometimes being used to include growth in motor coördinations as well. Mental development concerns the growth of the individual in his ability to learn or profit from experiences. Social development refers to the maturity of the individual in his social relationships. Furfey refers to this as the "Developmental Age." It shows itself in changing interests, play activities, choice of chums, etc.

At present we have no means of measuring social maturity comparable to those for measuring mental

or physical maturity, although several scales have been devised for testing social participation, social intelligence, emotional age, and the like.¹ These represent a good beginning, and some give promise of having a great deal of value in this general field. A social age of some particular chronological age group of, for instance, eleven years, would mean that the child who has attained such an age level has attained a social developmental level equivalent to that of the average child of eleven, although in actuality this child may be only nine years of age. In such a case we should say that the child's social age is advanced.

Problems in Social Growth

Egocentric vs. social growth.—It has just been pointed out that we lack adequate measures for securing objective evidence of the social development of children at different stages of life. However, any teacher who has observed the social nature of children in her classroom can testify as to the heterogeneity of the group in their social interests, activities, and attitudes. Prior to the ages of seven or eight the child is, in the main, egocentric in nature; for him the world of events is harmonized around himself—or, as Wheeler² claims, he has attained a certain amount of psychological independence. The feeling of self and the inability to

¹ See for example: Weber, C. O.: "Further Tests of the Wells Emotional Age Scale," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1932, 27, pp. 65-78.

² Wheeler, O. A.: "Variations in the Emotional Development of Normal Adolescents," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1931, 1, pp. 1-12.

comprehend the meaning of the life of others is a natural characteristic of the very young child. At this stage he has not reached the mental maturity prerequisite to generalizations relative to the attitudes, thoughts, and feelings of others. Since even the adult can only introspect for the self and since it is through mental abstractions that one judges the feelings and thoughts of others, we should not expect the child to have adequate concepts of people other than himself.

Piaget³ shows this egocentric tendency to be especially present in the conversation of children. It appears, according to Piaget's analysis, that the child talks either for himself or for the pleasure of associating in some manner with himself the situation confronting him. *For the child, language or conversation appears to be a means of expressing the self and identifying various things and characteristics with the self.* Piaget divides the conversation of children into the *egocentric* and the *socialized*. In socialized conversation children really exchange thoughts with each other. But even in this, during the earlier stage of life, many fanciful elements are introduced when it is necessary for the child to fill some gap in his thought unit. Furthermore, a careful examination of socialized speech will often reveal a great deal of the ego entwined therein. In the later development of the child socialized speech becomes more important.

There is a gradual growth in the socializing process as the child grows in his general personality pattern, owing to experiences in the home, the school, the play-

³ Piaget, Jean: *The Language and Thought of the Child*, pp. 9-11. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926.

ground, and other social agencies. Upon reaching the beginning of adolescence the child tends to become more objective in his thoughts and attitudes; his conversation becomes still more social in nature. Moreover, his conversation comes to have more contiguity, definite conversational trends develop, and thoughts are held over for longer periods of time; thus he has greater reasoning power and more verbal continence. It is only when this stage is reached, incidentally, that it becomes possible to develop personal ideals.

Adolescence as a period of social consciousness.—Upon passing into adolescence the child becomes conscious of the general social structure, and of the fact that he is a member of a great social order which is far wider in its scope than the home and even the community. This social consciousness finds expression in the child's indignance at the idea—if it suggested—that he is not passing into the period of life subsequent to early childhood. Here a few years' difference in age probably count for more in the eyes of the subject concerned than they will at any other age. The child entering adolescence becomes notably self-conscious over the idea of child play, and this change is of course hastened by the general structure and custom of society; hence the child should be considered from the developmental viewpoint just as his growth is considered. Whether the child passes through this period normally or finds the transition very difficult will depend largely upon earlier experiences and still further upon the treatment he receives during the transition.

Never is the individual more conscious of the fact that he is no longer a child, and never is he more desirous

of putting away childish things, than when he emerges into adolescence. He wishes his parents and associates to treat him not as a child but as an adult, and largely as one who is their equal in development and interest. It is now that the dictatorial parent begins to think his child stubborn and contrary. The child at this age is often referred to as a "smarty," for his experiences have not been broad enough to reveal to him his limitations and he therefore is at times overliberal with his advice and expressions of opinion. He has begun to rationalize more than formerly and is desirous of carrying through some of his rationalizations unmolested. Notably, defense mechanisms frequently develop during this period largely because of the failure of the socializing process and because of the conflict arising from the development of the social consciousness along with personal interests and desires.

Social vs. individual development.—The modern trend in education has been towards socialization. It has been recognized that individuals must be more socially conscious and develop more suitable social habits than was necessary when each family lived almost unto itself and each community almost wholly within its limits. We have passed beyond the stage of isolation and tribal pride into a state of social organization and reorganization and a need for civic dutifulness and responsibility. Organization, coöperation, and like terms thus express our national outlook, and this is and should be penetrating our schools.

However, this new emphasis upon the socialization of the school may quite overleap its proper bounds. The school must not assume that the individual is entirely

a social product. Some educators who otherwise are quite willing to make provision for native differences are very eager to establish absolute uniformity in social behavior, and in consequence certain trends of education are towards turning the school into a machine for producing standardized social products. It is not desirable to attempt to stamp out individuality and substitute for it a common type of sociability. It is only to minimize antisocial behavior (such as that described in Chapters XIV and XV) that there is a real necessity for specific standardization.

The notion of high individual attainment is not in conflict with that of the common good, neither is it out of harmony with a fuller concept of democracy. Chapter III emphasizes that there are great variations in the respective intelligences of adolescent—as well as younger and older—boys and girls. A democracy should strive to give each individual the opportunity to develop his abilities in order that the general welfare of the group and the individual may be furthered. The notion that the only measure of an individual's development is in terms of his acceptance of the folkways of the group does not allow for the expression of individuality. Furthermore, the notion that progress is a matter of social development is out of harmony with actual facts. It is well stated that “character is nourished in a life of action with others; talent is nourished in solitude.” If the latent talent or ability of an individual is to grow and ripen with the maturing years of educational development, there is a necessity for individual efforts. Thinking is probably an individual act, and whether the individual is in a crowd or alone, it can best be pursued

when the stimuli of the group are ineffective. In harmony with these thoughts James Russell Lowell said: "Solitude is as useful to the imagination as society is wholesome for character."

Social integration and participation.—Social training really means, in its larger aspect, social integration—the training of individuals for coöperation rather than leading or following. Social training which leads to the building of special types, as followers and leaders, is not desirable in a democracy; for in this state citizens are of most worth who are controlled by high individual standards of conduct which guide their actions, but who, at the same time, recognize the individual rights of others in activities not incompatible with the safety of society. With the advent of adolescence, external control should thus come to play a smaller rôle in the control of behavior. Self-responsibility and -dependency, coupled with freedom and liberty in behavior activities in harmony with the welfare of the group, must slowly displace external control as the individual reaches the stage of maturity and social participation.

Hetzer⁴ has carried on among German children some very extensive studies of a social development which is probably characteristic of social development during adolescence. His data indicate that with the onset of puberty girls between eleven and thirteen, and boys between thirteen and fifteen, participate much less in group games. During this period exists an attitude of social shyness towards the opposite sex, and usually

⁴ See Bühler, Charlotte: "The Social Behavior of the Child," in *A Handbook of Child Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.), pp. 405-408. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1931.

the boys' and girls' play life, as well as other interests, are somewhat clearly differentiated insofar as social participation is concerned.

Some Factors in Social Development

The home.—The influence of the home on adolescent behavior is almost synonymous with that of habits formed during the preschool years—during which the home's influence is greatest. Frequently habits are formed in later years which may not seem to be of the same lineage as habits acquired earlier, but the potency of the earlier habits should not be underestimated. Habits are built upon habits; so that the earliest are likely to give something of their form to the latest. Some of the specific problems of home influences upon adolescent behavior will be dealt with in later chapters.

Probably the major center of attention in connection with home influences relates either to the child's breaking parental ties or to the lack of parental ties by which he might be guided. The weaning of adolescents has, in fact, been the subject of a good deal of study and discussion among students of psychology. As a process it is vitally significant in the individual's life, for it often involves a change of life. Early social contacts are confined mostly to the home, where, as we have noted, such traits as introversion or extroversion, submissiveness or assertiveness, have their beginnings; but the weaning process, in its essence, is not only the modification or loss of the familiar environment which has nourished these traits, but even a prelude to a perhaps difficult modification of the traits themselves.

Organized social institutions.—Many institutions other than the home, having grown up over long stretches of time, have become almost universally respected. The child, therefore, rarely questions their authority. His behavior must be in conformity with the standards not only of the home but of the church, the state, the school; and from these, principally, his social life evolves. Indeed, he so completely accepts folkways and mores in his early years that, later on, he may fail to appreciate how profoundly they have gone into his making and now govern his entire outlook on life.

The high school and social maturity.—Table II, page 16, shows that there is a considerable elimination, for one or another reason, of children in the lower school grades, and that in consequence the pupils who reach high school are highly selected. Now while this elimination is due in part to inferior intelligence and the inability to do more advanced academic work, other factors—such as have already been described—may be operative. Thus social maturity, which varies considerably from pupil to pupil, affects high-school interests and activities importantly. It is likely that a child of a certain intelligence who has made a satisfactory social adjustment will be better fitted to pursue his studies than will a child of equal intelligence who has failed socially. We have no objective means of measuring social maturity, our social goals are but vaguely defined, and our methods of social training are still in the experimental stage; hence it is exceedingly difficult for teachers to make provisions for individual differences in social development. Clearly, a knowledge of the social and economic backgrounds of pupils, quite as much as of their mental

and physical development, is prerequisite to sound methods of school training.

Probably at no period in life is some sort of social adaptation unnecessary. The adolescent entering high school has received much training in coöperation, punctuality, and the like; but with increasing maturity, social contacts are widened and new adaptations must be made. So the school in a number of ways attempts to further the socialization of its pupils. Recognizing that direct suggestion through lectures and formal study is of little value in establishing desirable social habits, it must provide social situations in which the young may develop, according to the laws of learning. Thus extra-curricular activities have been encouraged. However, there is one danger in the administration of such activities which should be clearly seen and guarded against. It results from the carrying over of the teacher's classroom attitude to non-classroom activity; it is illustrated in athletic teams whose aim is to win rather than to improve their social life.

The camp and other organized social environments.—G. B. Watson⁵ devised tests of ethical ideals and attitudes in athletics and other phases of the repertoire of activities built up among boys during their stay in summer camps. Over 1700 boys were tested during the summers of 1925 and 1926, and the results obtained showed that 55 per cent of the boys gained, 40 per cent lost, and 5 per cent did not change. Different camps varied in results. An analysis of the results for contributory elements

⁵ Watson, G. B.: "Some Attempts to Measure Results of Summer Camp," *Religious Education*, 1927, 22, pp. 650-651.

influencing the types of habits built up point out that such factors as leadership quality, general morale, etc., play a very prominent part in determining the attitude established. The place of camp activities, hiking tours, and the like on the mental, physical, and social development is today recognized as very important by agencies concerned with the guidance and direction of adolescents along desirable lines: coöperation, respect for others, recognition of the importance of group behavior, group participation—all are fostered through the social contacts of camping and hiking. The young farmers' clubs, the industrial-settlement groups, and the recently organized hiking groups of Germany may also be important in the development of the mental, physical, emotional, and social life of growing boys and girls.

More temporary institutions.—In addition to the well-established social institutions or forces which play so large a part in the child's development, there are others which are not so definitely fixed but which nevertheless exert considerable influence in shaping his behavior. Clubs, fraternities, fashion, the spirit of the times, and gangs may, in fact, be even more influential than many older and more widely recognized social institutions.

Bühler summarizes the results of certain studies made in Germany and Austria relative to the participation of adolescent boys and girls in group activities. (Further data bearing on this topic are presented in Chapter VII, in connection with adolescent interests.) Bühler writes:

Bernfeld, who collected several hundred papers in which high-school boys reported about their membership in gangs or clubs, found that in German and Austrian high schools from

2 to 100 per cent of the pupils of a class were incorporated in associations. One of the earliest American investigations in the field of the psychology of adolescence was concerned with the problem of boys' gangs.⁶ Vecerka made the first parallel investigation on girls' societies. As she collected material from fourteen hundred girls she was able to give a statistical survey. . . . The highest percentage of girls participating in a club, 31, was found to occur at the age of thirteen. The curve gradually increases and decreases to and from this peak. The girls after fourteen consider that the time of clubs has passed.⁷

It seems that the German *youth movement* was so very successful originally partly because it met this general need of adolescents to associate in definite groups. Martin, who made a questionnaire investigation of *political* interests of adolescents in Vienna, found that up to sixteen years the wish to join an association is much more decisive for the participation in a political group than the political interest itself.⁸

Physical conditions.—In addition to various institutional factors, physical conditions also play a part in determining social development. The individual's physical condition is of vast importance in conditioning his response toward others. Such factors as sleep, diet, metabolism, and functioning of the glands are always operative.

Enlarged mental horizon.—That the mental life of the adolescent reaches out into a wider and fuller expression is recognized by all adults who have observed carefully the thinking and mental life of these maturing subjects, although many parents and teachers fail to appreciate

⁶ Bühler refers here to the study by Johnson, J.: "Rudimentary Society Among Boys," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, 1884, 11.

⁷ Bühler, Charlotte: *Op. cit.*, p. 410.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 410.

the fact. With the further maturity of the nervous system (referred to in connection with the physical growth during this period), there is an increased ability to gain knowledge and interpret relationships. Furthermore, because of extended freedom these subjects can now make mental and physical excursions into fields otherwise held in abeyance. The new independence, coming when mental maturity is being reached, brings with it a fuller mental life and thus a further understanding and interest in various social phenomena. Added curiosity, zeal, and increased imagination on social problems emerge. Productive and constructive imagination now becomes quite prominent and tends to guide, and in no small manner to shape, the adolescent's social outlook.

The essential difference between the child and the adolescent in social maturity is essentially one of learning. Practically all animals are gregarious in their behavior. The infant early in life develops habits and makes interpretations which are chiefly concerned with other people, but his outlook is almost entirely egocentric. He is concerned with other people because they administer to his immediate needs and wants. As his circle of friends widens and he grows into adolescence, he comes into contact with people who are unwilling to humor his childlike egocentric tendencies. Then, as he becomes more mature, he frees himself from many of the close home ties and becomes more closely attached to various social groups and friends; loyalty, trustworthiness, sympathy, service to others, and other characteristics of man's social nature begin to develop into a fuller state. It is this change from the point of view of a

self-centered individual to that of one who realizes the proper place of each individual in the life of the group that constitutes the essential social difference between the child and the adult.

A social individual.—Social habits might be thought of as uniform modes of behavior that are transmitted from generation to generation through the social inheritance of the individual. They become exceedingly complex in nature and are basic to the further development of civilization. As these habits grow in complexity, the problem of adjusting the individual of the next generation to the great social world in which he is to become a responsible member tends to become more acute, and this necessitates a longer period of training for the child in order that he may be able to supply future social needs as well as become a productive citizen. The latter duty is vocational, while the former has to do with civic responsibilities and avocations. Social habits include morality, customs, fashions, fads, folkways, and various attitudes handed down by the group.

The school is the only agency which has as its sole task the training of youth for better future citizenship. As such it should attempt to harmonize the efforts of all agencies concerned with education, and this makes it necessary for all the teachers to be familiar with the various socializing factors in the community and the aims of each. The work of some of these factors must be negated, that of others strengthened. It is extremely important that those who guide the adolescent be well oriented with regard to the purposes of training, individual differences in ability, the nature of adolescence,

and methods of coördinating these through direction and guidance.

Summary.—The child's social development is of a gradual and continuous nature. The child early in life is largely egocentric. A little later he discovers himself as a member of a social unit, in which he stands in certain relations to others. In the home he receives his first social training, and first comes into contact with the routine of life. He establishes regular habits with regard to meals, play hours, sleep, etc., and learns that his actions must be conditioned according to the behavior of others. Social habits are formed in harmony with various social forces. A reasonable amount of social conformity is essential, but the problem of individual vs. social development is not always adequately solved by the various social forces. The social development of the child is conditioned by various institutions, and the principle of "learning by doing" applied to social participation is important in the development of a social individual.

Thought Problems

1. To what extent is social development dependent upon hereditary factors? Show how the epigenetic theory of development operates in explaining social development.
2. Illustrate egocentric tendencies as commonly manifested during adolescence. Give examples of egocentric tendencies commonly carried forth into adult life.
3. What is meant by "social consciousness"? List some factors responsible for its development.
4. How are inhibitions related to one's egocentric nature? to the development of "social consciousness"?
6. Differentiate by actual illustrations the social attitudes of the typical thirteen-year-old girl and the average adult.

7. How is social consciousness during adolescence related to interests?

Suggestions for Reading

Furfey, P. H.: "Developmental Age," *Toward Understanding Children, II*, University of Iowa Extension Bulletin, 1932, 283, pp. 9-21.

Groves, E. R.: *Personality and Social Adjustment*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1923.

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Young, Kimball: *Source Book for Social Psychology*, Chap. XIII. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927.

CHAPTER VII

Adolescent Interests¹

The meaning of interests.—It has already been pointed out that the adolescent is in no sense a passive agent in a constant environment. The mode of reaction on the part of the adolescent is determined not only by the environment but by the specific direction, in accordance with changes that have been wrought in the neuromuscular system during the earlier years of experience, of the energies of the organism. Interest, then, is purposive insofar as a situation produces a response in the individual such that certain desires and strivings are channeled towards realization.

The word *interest* is derived from the Latin word, *interesse*, which means "to be between," "to make a difference," "to concern," "to be of value." Interest has been described as that "something between" which secures some desired goal, or is a means to an end *which is of value to the individual* because of its driving force, usefulness, pleasure, or general social and vocational significance. Interest is a form of emotional state in the individual's life which is interrelated with the general habit system of activity. Moreover, during a state of interest, certain parts of the environment

¹ Most of the materials of this chapter appeared in an article by the writer entitled, "The Play Interests of Adolescents," in *The Peabody Reflector*, March, 1933, pp. 39-40, 48-49.

are singled out, not merely because of such objective conditions of attention as *intensity*, *extensity*, *duration*, *movement*, but because changes have been established in the neuromuscular system which cause the organism to favor some reactions to the exclusion of others. The term *interest* has ordinarily been referred to in describing or explaining why the organism tends to favor some situations and thus comes to react to them in a very selective manner. Interest is directly related to voluntary attention, and when interest is not present, attention tends to fluctuate readily.

The organism must be considered in terms of the biological and social drives that have been referred to. Hence, with growing knowledge, and experiences developing and integrating special habit patterns, the individual reaching adolescence has both "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" interests. It is of course well that there be a balance existing between these interests.

The age of adolescence has been referred to by psychologists as the period of varied and peculiar interests. It should be recognized, first, that all interests grow out of experiences, and the life experiences of the organism tend to guide and direct the development of further interests. In attempting to build some interest in the life of the child, it should therefore be recognized that any such interest must be established according to the laws of learning, just as other habit patterns are formed. Over a long period of careful observations it becomes evident that different individuals have preferred ways of reacting to a specific phase of their environment, and these are somewhat characteristic of the organism concerned. When the adolescent chooses

some special book to read instead of pursuing an athletic game, we recognize that a special type of interest is present. This interest is in itself a drive to a special type of action. When a boy pursues a game for its own sake or for the amusement and fun that he gets from the exercise, then his interest is referred to as "intrinsic" or as "an end unto itself." On the other hand, when a boy goes into athletics in order to keep himself fit or to develop certain desirable character traits, we have an example of "extrinsic" interests, or a means to arrive at some desirable element. Athletics, reading a book, driving an automobile, and practically any activity we might consider may be of either an intrinsic or an extrinsic type of interest. Intrinsic interest is usually more spontaneous than extrinsic interest.

This differentiation in the nature of interests is a matter of importance to parents, teachers, or boys' workers who wish to regulate the overflow of restlessness in boyhood and youth. An individual responds to an intrinsic interest, to the pleasure which his palate will take, for instance, in a fine dinner, more readily than to a plain meal which is good for his health. At the same time, adolescence may also be rightly thought of as the period when individuals begin to look with a longer horizon upon the experiences of daily living as a means to an end. Wise adults are accustomed to look beyond the immediate gratification yielded by an activity to discover its values.²

The growth of interests.—The early interests of the child are centered on purely personal relations. When he sees an animal which he has not seen before, he will

² Boorman, W. R.: *Developing Personality in Boys*, p. 41. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1929. (Quoted by permission of the publishers.)

ask, "What is it? Will it bite?" and these questions are not scientific in nature; neither are they prompted by the ideal of scientific inquiry. Nevertheless, even at this stage in the intellectual development of the child one sees evidence of individual interest in the structure, behavior, and life history of the animal. This represents the beginning of a scientific interest in life, and especially the life of animals. Interest is dependent on experience, but this does not mean that the native ability does not play a part in the development of interest. The physical growth of the organism, itself, is an important factor in the development of interests. Even visceral and glandular activities may affect the direction of one's interests. We shall not attempt to go into the physiological basis of interest, save to admit that all interests ultimately have a biological basis. This biological basis may be either organic or functional, but the development of any interest is limited by experience. The interests of the high-school boys and girls are therefore within the limit of their training and environment and are always limited by their physiological development and their innate ability.

By the time boys and girls reach the age of adolescence and are beginning high-school work, one will notice a very great range of interests and also a pronounced sex difference. Careful, controlled observations have led many psychologists to believe that experience plays an exceedingly powerful rôle in differentiating the interests of both races and sexes. Book³ found a distinct sex

³ Book, W. F.: *The Intelligence of High School Seniors*, p. 173. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922.

difference respecting the favorite high-school subjects of boys and girls. The outstanding differences revealed by the comparisons were:

1. The brightest boys show a decided preference for mathematics and science; the brightest girls for foreign language.

2. The highest percentage of boys (26 per cent) prefer mathematics to any other subject; the largest percentage of girls (28 per cent) prefer English and literature.

Interest in play.—A differentiation has already been made between extrinsic and intrinsic interests. Needless to say both should have a place in the development of a well-balanced personality. Educators are recognizing more and more keenly the necessity for educating people in better means of using their leisure. With the increase of complexity in civilization and the decrease in hours of labor, much unoccupied time is left to the average citizen; but education has not yet prepared the citizen to use it wholesomely and worthily.

Play has an intrinsic value for the adolescent, but with further growth and development extrinsic values become more and more sought. Play activities tend to supply the adolescent with physique, health, neuromuscular skills, and the desire for recreation. Pupil interests in play are conditioned largely during the adolescent age; such forces as environment, age, sex, race, custom, and intelligence operate to effect various differences. Some of these forces we shall review.

The values of physical activities are as various as the values of life itself. The physical, mental, social, and moral natures owe much of their development to play. Play has been interpreted by some as the "school of infancy and early childhood," a concept which has

received very strong support from G. Stanley Hall and others who hold to the recapitulation theory as applied to human behavior. The recent tendency to consider growth as a continuous process, and the further emphasis on the recreational phase of activity, have modified this notion of play.

Recent studies by Lehman and Witty show that interest in play cannot be confined to early childhood. They gathered data from 6881 children concerning activities in which the children had engaged during the preceding week and the number of activities in which they had participated alone. The data thus gathered led the investigators to conclude:

1. Attempts to differentiate certain C. A. periods in terms of differences displayed by children in diversity of play activities seem unjustifiable.

2. The play trends which characterize a given age group seem to be the result of gradual changes occurring during the growth period. These changes are not sudden and characterized by periodicity but are gradual and contingent.

3. Nor can any age or group of ages, between 8 and 19 inclusive, be characterized as disclosing play behavior primarily social or primarily individualistic. . . . Such a practice is unwarranted.⁴

Today play activity of some kind is recognized as of value in all stages of life. The time is past when, like our Puritan fathers, we turned from the play activities because they were a total "waste of time." Only the idle daydreaming child who indulges in fantasy instead of wholesome play activity wastes his time.

⁴Lehman, H. C., and Witty, P. A.: "Periodicity and Growth," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1927, 11, pp. 106-116.

TABLE VII

PLAY ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN BY MORE THAN TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT OF PUPILS OF JUNIOR-SENIOR HIGH-SCHOOL AGE. (FROM LEHMAN, "THE PLAY ACTIVITIES OF PERSONS OF DIFFERENT AGES," *Pedagogical Seminary*, VOL. 33, PP. 250-292.)

Girls' Activities

Riding in an automobile	Playing basketball
Making excursions to woods, parks, country, etc.	Playing card games
Going to the movies	Roller skating
Going to parties or picnics	Swinging
Visiting or entertaining company	Jumping or skipping rope
Listening to the victrola	Dressing up in older persons' clothing
Playing the piano (for fun)	Playing school
Looking at the Sunday "funny-paper"	Playing hide-and-seek
Reading jokes or funny sayings	Running and romping
Reading the newspapers	Gathering flowers
Reading short stories	Cutting paper things with scissors
Reading books	Whistling
Writing letters	Telling or guessing riddles
Singing (for fun)	Playing catch
Looking at pictures	Telling stories
Sewing, knitting, crocheting, etc. (for fun)	Drawing with pencil, pen, or crayon
Painting with water colors	Playing with pet dogs
Going to entertainments, concerts	Listening to the radio
Doing gymnasium work	Watching athletic sports
Just imagining things	Dancing
Hiking or strolling	Social club activities
	Driving an automobile

Boys' Activities

Playing baseball	Shooting a gun
Playing catch	Doing gymnasium work
Riding in an automobile	Telling stories
Watching athletic sports	Singing (for fun)
Playing card games	Driving an automobile
Listening to the victrola	Making or using a wireless or other electrical apparatus
Listening to the radio	Going to parties or picnics
Looking at the "funny-paper"	Going to entertainments, concerts, etc.
Reading jokes or funny sayings	Listening to stories
Reading the newspapers	Social club activities
Reading short stories	Playing indoor ball games
Reading books	Dancing
Writing letters	
Whistling	
Playing football	

In the various differentiations that have been made between play and work one will usually find a general thought: the attitude of the *doer* is probably the greatest of the factors that differentiate work and play. Also, play is less concerned with monetary values than is work—although, of course, not all forms of work regard such values; play is rather characterized by activity from which the player gains pleasure. Pleasure, then, rather than monetary values, seems to be supreme. Notably, there is a striking similarity in the features of play of different nations and races, yet there is a wide variation in the specific types of play pursued; that is, the values sought are similar, but the means differ.

Formation of groups and gangs.—At the age of adolescence boys and girls become highly interested in forming groups, societies, gangs, and clubs; and these are indeed truly representative of the “gang” stage of life. Scientific investigations show that as a rule the members of a gang are likely to be of about the same level of intelligence. The members usually come from within a certain limited geographical area, as is the case in the selection of chums among adolescent boys. The gang is very apt to be in the main a neighborhood affair. Through it individuals are affected by the behavior patterns of others and tend to influence the formation of behavior patterns in others by their own activities. The group is generally homogeneous in its desires, likes, and dislikes; social uniformity in ideals and attitudes tends to develop in accordance with general activities. Loyalty to different members of the group reaches a high pitch and may even surpass the loyalty earlier established to such ideals as honesty and truthfulness.

The members of the group attempt to control behavior in such a way as to receive the benefits that are bestowed by the group. There is usually some symbol, code, motto, or sign to which the emotions become fixed. This concrete factor to which the emotions may be fixated has great value in building up units of behavior qualities and aids in the development of loyalty to the group life.

The gang exists insofar as there are problems or interests in common, and the individuals voluntarily devote their services to the action of the group. Self-consciousness or the recognition of an ideal as worthy and desirable plays a large part among certain types of organizations; and an insult to some member of the group is felt by all the group. Dominant sentiments or ideals represented by symbols become potent drives for unanimity of action. Whatever is decided upon and accepted by the group as individual members is drawn together through this extension of individual sentiments into a larger and more conservative group sentiment. Principles which have been inculcated in the home may then seem to vanish before the influence of the suggestion that issues from the attitude of the gang. Various attempts have been made to unify this group consciousness or group sentiment. Hence, in the earlier stage of the development of the individual the ideals must be concrete in nature and pertain to the phases of conduct that are within the realm of the child's present environment. The organizations that have been established to replace these crude forms of gangs so universally existing are coming to play a more and more important rôle in the different elements of the child's school and out-of-

school life. The gang spirit so evident during this stage of life is finding expression today through various forms of guided activities. Some of these are discussed further in connection with the social, personality, and character phases of the adolescent's life.

Such organizations as the Boy Scouts, Hi-Y Clubs, and Girl Scouts are promoting nobler and higher ideals. They are reaching into the life of the adolescent and guiding his social life into useful and worthy activities, rather than allowing some of the baser forces to prevail in molding character traits according to the ideals and interests of an ill-organized gang. Boys and girls should have the opportunity of expression, and they are ever attempting to find this through gang activities. Of course, if organizations are made too formal, or fail to allow for the interests and needs of the adolescent, they will not serve the real purpose for which they are intended.

A type of activity that gives vent to this pent-up energy in the adolescent and thus contributes to his general moral and physical well-being is camp life, the importance of which in social development was pointed out in the previous chapter. Needless to say, a necessity exists for the proper supervision and direction of this recreational phase of life, but supervision should be indirect rather than direct. The activities of boys and girls in the summer camps are usually natural, desirable, and beneficial expressions of the self. In the April, 1929, *Cosmopolitan Magazine* is the following comment concerning who should attend summer camps:

All the children who like to play, the child who wants to win all the games and who will quit when luck is against him,

the little boy who sits on the side lines and always watches others play, the overbright, solemn, unresponsive, and sometimes antagonistic little person, the little boy who is usually acting a part, the lonely child with plenty of toys but no playmates his own age, the timid, diffident child who is slow to make friends, the child who enjoys bullying his playmates, the big fat boy who is always being teased, the "only" child who is the center of attraction at home, the unresourceful child who is continually asking what to do next, especially the child who has never spent a summer in camp.

Playmates.—Just prior to adolescence both boys and girls choose playmates or some particular chum and build close friendships, interests, and attachments. The reasons for the choice of a particular chum and the effect of the chum on the formation of character in the life of the individual have been carefully studied by Furfey.⁵ In a study of 62 pairs of boys in a group of 296, he found that 45 per cent were from the same neighborhood and that 89 per cent were in the same room in school. Correlations were obtained between the chums and certain variables, these variables being mainly physical measurements.

TABLE VIII
CORRELATION OF CHUMS WITH EACH OTHER WITH RESPECT
TO CERTAIN VARIABLES

Chronological age.....	.39 ± .07
Mental age.....	.24 ± .08
Developmental age (maturity).....	.37 ± .07
Height.....	.34 ± .08
Weight.....	.22 ± .08

Table VIII gives the coefficients of correlation with respect to various physical measurements. The study did not take into account such factors as tastes, interests,

⁵ Furfey, Paul H.: "Some Factors Influencing the Selection of Boys' Chums," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1927, 11, pp. 47-51.

moral standards, temperament, social status, and economic conditions that in some cases are probably more important than some of the measurements given. Chronological age, physiological maturity, and height, respectively, were the three measurements that correlated highest, while weight gave the lowest correlation.

Jenkins⁶ found in a study of 280 boys and girls in the junior high school of Riverside, California, that socio-economic positions of parents were closely related to the choice of chums or companions. Children tended also to choose friends from the same age group and because of proximity of homes. Friendships were found to be about equally divided between those made at school and those made at home and in neighbors' contacts.

Physical activity is quite important in drawing adolescent boys together, although it is not likely to operate to such an extent among girls. Physical activity and ability is so very often looked upon as a masculine trait that it is conceived of as more essential for the boy than for the girl; hence it tends to influence his choice of friends and companions. The home emphasis on social standing is especially influential among adolescent girls in their choice of companions.

That "birds of a feather flock together" has been long recognized and is borne out by evidence in the field of psychology and education. During adolescence playmates or companions are much more likely to be chosen according to individual likings than during earlier childhood, or even during the period following, when business and social standing play such a prominent

⁶ Jenkins, G. G.: "Factors Involved in Children's Friendships," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1931, 22, pp. 440-448.

part for most people in their choice of associates. When the adolescent tends to choose undesirable companions, it is usually of little use to admonish or reproach him. The trouble in most cases is due to early training or environmental surroundings, and much pressure brought to bear during adolescence will, as a rule, serve only to aggravate the general situation and cause the individual to assume an antagonistic frame of mind. It is during the earlier years of life that tastes for good friendships should be established. Ideals of conduct directed towards some desirable goal develop gradually according to the developmental concept that is emphasized through this study of adolescents. A new environmental setting for the adolescent, a new interpretation of life's value in harmony with certain interests and desires, or a change in general vocational activity may function effectively in the eradication of undesirable chum selection.

Team activities.—The apparent sudden change in the play activities of adolescence are not to be accounted for on the basis of the sudden ripening or maturing of some instinct or impulse. The growing child has matured in strength and prowess, and surplus energy acts as a biological drive. New social realms are ever broadening, and constant contacts with fellow-members of the group contribute to the development of team play. The individual soon learns that through coöperative endeavors he may satisfy certain needs that cannot be satisfied in solitary play; therefore team activities develop in harmony with the satisfaction of certain *felt* needs. These needs have a biological basis but are socialized in accordance with the expanding social life of the

individual. The maturation of the sex glands and a consequent interest in the opposite sex is also partially responsible for the change towards group activity in adolescence.

One will not find the adolescent suddenly and spontaneously submerging himself in the group and coöperating only for the success of the team—individual performances are especially evident in activities that call for physical prowess, special stunts, and individual playing by particular members of the team. Interest in team games develops alongside earlier individualistic play interests, and tends to supplement rather than to supplant them. Many games now have the social element involved more than before. The sexes are beginning to mingle and to develop interests of a sexual-social nature; girls now become loyal to boys' teams, and boys to those of the girls. Also at this period of life games for both boys and girls become more formal in nature, and definite rules are laid down in order better to standardize the playing. The play of adolescent girls is often similar to that of the boys, usually having some modification so that it will not be so strenuous.

Team activities have a rather important place in the play life of high-school boys and girls, although research indicates differences in practices and activities among various types of secondary schools. The studies by Terry and Umstead⁷ are typical of programs carried

⁷ Terry, Paul W.: "General Survey of Practices: Junior High School," *Twenty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, 1926, pp. 23-38.

Umstead, L. W.: *Extra-curricular Activities in the Rural High School*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, North Carolina State College, 1929.

on in large and small high schools. The former study, made in connection with larger high schools, revealed an average of 10 student-activity organizations in the more progressive small group, 17 in the medium, and 20 in the large. Umstead found different practices in the group of 401 standard rural high schools in North Carolina. Of these schools, each enrolling from 50 to 444 pupils, 70 had no clubs, although in all of them one would likely find much informal activity. Umstead found further that 93 of these schools had two organizations; 82, four; 29, six; 6, eight; 2, ten; and 1, twelve. However, probably neither of these findings is wholly typical for either of the types of high schools studied. Economic and climatic factors, diversity of community activities, and school interest and morale are all prominent in influencing the high-school activities of boys and girls.

In both large and small high schools certain types of activity predominate. Athletics seem to be the most popular in the average high school. Terry found that 30 per cent of the clubs he investigated were athletic in character; Woody and Chapell found the same trend.⁸ Basketball, baseball, and track are the sports most commonly found in the smaller high schools, football being stressed more in the larger high schools. Woody found, further, a tendency on the part of the small high school towards interscholastic rather than intramural participation.

⁸ Woody, J. C., and Chapell, E. H.: "Pupil Participation in the Extra-curricular Activities in the Smaller High Schools of Michigan," *Twenty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, 1926, pp. 81-96.

Lehman and Witty's studies⁹ reveal a distinct difference in the play activities of boys and girls from different localities. They point out that girls in the country participate a great deal in such activities as climbing, jumping, and running. Again, there is much similarity in the games pursued by rural girls and boys, probably because in most cases games must be modified to include both sexes in order to have the desired number for playing. This situation is seen especially in activities pursued during out-of-school life.

Intelligence and play activity.—Much speculative material has been presented from time to time with regard to the play life of children of different degrees of intelligence. The most intensive and extensive study was conducted by Lehman and Witty,¹⁰ relative to the play behavior of fifty gifted children ("gifted" referring here to children with an I.Q. of 140 or above). Each gifted child was paired with a mentally average child of like age, sex, and environment. The following conclusions were drawn:

The gifted group and the control group of children demonstrated the same versatility of interest in play and engaged in the *same number* of activities.

The gifted children included in this study were found to be *more solitary* in their play than average children.

The gifted group engaged more frequently in, and spent more time upon, and preferred to a greater extent than the control group, activities involving reading.

⁹ Lehman, H. C., and Witty, P. A.: *The Psychology of Play Activities*. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1927.

¹⁰ Witty, Paul A., and Lehman, H. C.: "The Play Behavior of Fifty Gifted Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1927, 18, pp. 259-265.

The gifted children tended to avoid certain types of vigorous physical play. However, the gifted group participated more often than the control group in certain active plays and games, although on the whole less frequently in the extremely active plays and games.

An analysis of the data gathered by Lehman and Witty regarding sex differences of bright boys and bright girls shows a great similarity in activities. A closer analysis reveals that the dull boys have a higher index of social participation and prefer activities of a motor type, although there is a great deal of overlapping. In attempting to account for this, one falls back on one of the fundamental laws of human activity: the organism tries out various modes of behavior until success is attained to some degree. For the dull child success and thus satisfaction may often be attained through motor activities or through social participation. In many such activities abstract intelligence is not so important or necessary as in certain forms of school work, or in abstract problems involving experience. The dull child's ability to compete successfully and thus gain recognition and satisfaction is a prominent factor in the interest difference. Turning to the bright pupil's stronger interest in reading, one will notice that vicarious satisfaction is here attained, and the subject is able to compete successfully in activities requiring problem-solving and thinking. The formula for both the bright and the dull child is the same; but it seems reasonable to assume that the type of activity that satisfies the felt need of the adolescent is the one that is chosen.

Much controversial discussion has been carried on concerning the effect of athletics on the scholarship and

health of growing youths. Exactly how much of the discussion has included points worthy of being considered is hard to determine. Fortunately these effects are being studied in a rather scientific manner today, and the results thus far gathered should aid in clarifying some of the speculations and opinions. Jacobsen summarizes the results of 17 studies dealing with this problem and confined to the high-school period. The results of the high-school studies are in harmony with the studies made on the college level. He summarizes them as follows:

(1) High-school athletes are of average mental ability. (2) Athletes stand as high as, if not slightly higher than, non-athletes in academic achievement as measured by school marks. (3) The scholarship of athletes does not seem to suffer appreciably during the period of participation. Until further investigations with more refined methods have been made, it would seem that the opponents of high-school athletics must seek elsewhere than in the scholastic records of athletic participants for the justification of their views.¹¹

Social organizations.—With further maturity well-established social institutions tend to give way somewhat to those which are less established. Interests and activities, as we have noted, become related to clubs, fraternities, fashion, the spirit of the times, gangs, and the like. Thus extra-curricular activities of various types have come to be a potent force, in harmony with the interests of adolescents, in meeting adolescent needs. Some have pointed to these extra activities as means of diverting the students' attention away from the real task

¹¹ Jacobsen, J. M.: "Athletics and Scholarship in the High School," *The School Review*, 1931, 39, pp. 280-287.

of the school. But Swanson concludes from a study of 398 graduates from Kansas City High Schools:

On the whole, the evidence adduced in this investigation points to the thesis that high-school pupils of somewhat more than average intelligence participate in extra-curricular activities, probably as a means of expressing their intelligence beyond the demands of the curriculum, and that such participation does not significantly affect their scholastic standing.¹²

Club work as a part of the extra-curricular program is coming to have a more and more important part in the lives of junior and senior high-school boys and girls. It is here that talents developed in solitude are molded and integrated into the developing habit patterns. It is here that growing individuals are given the opportunity to express more successfully their exact needs and abilities. Club work can best be directed through indirect suggestion, and in this the pupil is led to a better realization of his limitations and possibilities and finally to a vocational choice. In Umstead's study¹³ it was found that the literary clubs enrolled a clear majority of the boys and girls in the standard rural high schools of North Carolina. Such clubs have a traditional basis, and under the title of "literary society" one will find almost all forms of extra-curricular activities carried on in the smaller high schools. Other studies have shown that English organizations, including dramatics, journalism, literary groups, etc., rank second in importance to athletics in popularity. Woody¹⁴ found in his investi-

¹² Swanson, A. M.: "The Effect on High-School Scholarship of Pupil Participation in Extra-curricular Activities," *School Review*, 1924, 32, pp. 613-626.

¹³ Umstead, L. W.: *Op. cit.*

¹⁴ Woody, J. C., and Chapell, E. H.: *Op. cit.*

gations of the smaller high schools in Michigan that 50 per cent engaged in debating, although only 25 per cent support debating societies. Terry¹⁵ found 67 per cent of the larger and rather progressive high schools editing newspapers. All investigations indicate one important trend: namely, the school newspaper is gradually replacing the school annual and is considerably more popular than the school magazine.

Interests, activity, and character development.—In the various phases of school activities a well-balanced individual is given the opportunity to grow and develop along the line of his interests and abilities. It is through such means that the higher levels of learning sometimes referred to as attitudes and character are developed. The individuals are given the opportunity of putting into practice many of the more or less formal teachings of the classroom. But as we view character growth through the various school organizations, we must hearken again to the developmental viewpoint explained earlier: character growth is slow and contingent. In order that some trait should become a living part of the individual, it must be practiced again and again under favorable circumstances.

Generally one will grow, develop, and serve best when he has an active share in an activity—and this is the principle that is reforming the methods and materials of our secondary schools. When the high-school boy or girl is active at work on the playground, in the literary society, or in some other form of activity, he is expressing himself and identifying his personality with those about

¹⁵ Terry, P. W.: *Op. cit.*

him. It is here, then, that desirable companions and leaders are essential, if the individual's development is to be that of a well-integrated personality along socially desirable lines. Moreover, this development should be the end of extra-curricular activities—these activities should not be an end unto themselves. They are a new and enthusiastic form of behavior for adolescent boys and girls, and are the beginnings of such habit patterns as will culminate in personal adjustment and effective social service.

Thought Problems

1. What are some elements that enter into boys' choice of chums? girls' choice of chums? Explain.
2. What is the relation between recreational interest and the choice of subjects in school?
3. Account for the fact that in the 401 standard rural high schools of North Carolina more students participated in basketball than in any other game.
4. To what extent should extra-curricular activities be prepared according to individual differences in interests and abilities?
5. Show how intrinsic interest is usually more spontaneous than extrinsic interest.
6. Discuss team formation. How is it fostered? How is it related to the choice of chums?
7. Mention some values of team activities.

Suggestions for Reading

- Gardner, E.: *Public Dance Halls, Their Relation and Place in the Recreation of Adolescents*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1929.
- Lehman, H. C., and Witty, P. A.: *The Psychology of Play Activities*. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1927.

Pringle, V. W.: *Adolescence and High School Problems*. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1922.

The references listed below deal with different phases of extra-curricular activities in the school. These should be of practical value to the teacher or prospective school worker.

Draper, E. M.: *Intramural Athletics and Play Days*. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1930.

Foster, C. R.: *Extra-curricular Activities in the High School*. Richmond: Johnson Co., 1925.

Fretwell, E. K.: *Extra-curricular Activities in Secondary Schools*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931.

McKown, H. C.: *Assembly and Auditorium Activities*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930.

Millard, Cecil V.: *The Organization and Administration of Extra-curricular Activities*. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1930.

Roemer, Joseph, and Allen, C. F.: *Extra-curricular Activities*. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1926.

Terry, Paul W.: *Supervising Extra-curricular Activities in the American Secondary School*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1930. For a recent bibliography and summary of extra-curricular activities in 1930 and 1931, see Terry's article in *The School Review*, 1932, 40, pp. 124-137 and 613-619.

Wells, G. C., and McCalister, W. H.: *Student Publications*. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1930.

CHAPTER VIII

Adolescent Interests (*Cont.*)

Significance of intellectual and esthetic interests.—

Intellectual and esthetic interests of adolescents are usually represented in leisure reading. But this activity not only portrays interests: it tends to give the individual himself a better understanding of the self as it is seldom seen by others. Therefore reading bears both directly and indirectly on problems related to adolescent growth and guidance. Interest in reading, museums, nature, music, painting, and the like is widening; yet if civilized nations are to rise to a higher plane, these interests must be far more thoroughly cultivated among growing citizens. The consequence of these interests is not only immediate pleasure but, through recurrent stimulation, a prolonged feeling-state of enjoyment. The interests with which we are concerned here are not to be thought of, therefore, in terms of momentary emotional excitation, but rather in terms of the long-time effects produced on the maturing boys and girls. They should, indeed, aid considerably in the development of a well-balanced personality, and they should be encouraged and guided by all suitable means.

The keen interest shown by high-school students in sports, cartoons, science and invention, radio, theaters, photographs, and the like reveals expanding mental and

social life.¹ Data gathered by various investigators show very clearly that adolescent interests are developing along social lines and that the imagination is quickening among more abstract topics. Enlarged experience, and the new self evolved from the various physiological changes present as a result of maturity, are especially reflected in the reading of newspapers and magazines. Such interests can well be utilized by those dealing with adolescent boys and girls. Interest in magazine-reading will harmonize with human and adventurous interests. The interest in and understanding of humor is often slower in developing than are many other interests pertaining to social situations, but with the beginning of adolescence a keener perception of humorous situations is in evidence; the ability to generalize and think abstractly, necessary in most humor, begins to be more clearly manifested. Such selections in magazines, books, and the newspapers here come to be placed on a social plane, and thus have a greater appeal with this growth of understanding.

Reading interests.—One of the most thorough of the studies of reading interests was conducted by Jordan. His study revealed some rather striking sex differences in reading interests during adolescence. Table IX gives the results.

An analysis of the results summarized in Table IX by the types of books preferred indicates that a considerable amount of overlapping exists for both sexes and also for the different age groups. This one should expect, since,

¹ See the study by Ross, C. L.: "Interests of Adults and High School Pupils in Newspaper Reading," *School and Society*, 1928, 27, p. 212.

as has already been pointed out, growth seems to be a continuous rather than a periodic process. The developmental concept of growth as represented in physical and mental growth will hold true also for growth in behavior units, interests, and intellectual concepts. Various studies of reading interests show a keen interest in fiction among girls, while adventure stories are preferred by boys. During later adolescence (postadolescence) there

TABLE IX

PERCENTAGE TABLE INDICATING THE RELATIVE PROPORTION OF BOOKS CHOSEN IN EACH CLASS (JORDAN, 1926)

Boys.....	59	253	846	283
Girls.....	87	336	1195	414
<i>Ages</i>	<i>9-11</i>	<i>12-13</i>	<i>14-16</i>	<i>17-18</i>
Adult fiction.....	{ B..... 4	6	18	30
	{ G..... 15	33	45	58
Juvenile fiction.....	{ B..... 27	19	11	9
	{ G..... 67	44	30	13
Adventure.....	{ B..... 56	64	59	49
	{ G..... 12	17	18	22

is a natural shift of girls' interest from juvenile to adult fiction, the trend of boys' interests being towards biography, history, travel, information of a general type, and humor; and yet there is considerable overlapping.

The interest of the girls in fiction is apparent in Table IX. The books preferred by girls, according to Jordan's study,² were: *The Girl of the Limberlost*, *Little Women*, Zane Grey's works, *Pollyanna*, and *Freckles*; boys listed the *Boy Scout Series*, *The Call of the Wild*, and *Treasure Island*. Even in the magazine list Jordan found a remarkable interest of girls in fiction.

² Jordan, A. M.: *Educational Psychology*, pp. 111-112. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928.

Studies of reading interests do not show that the same books are preferred by similar social groups in different localities, but in different localities the same types of reading interests seem to be present in similar age and sex groups. Moreover, the reading interest during the preadolescent age is quite similar to that developed later, as a study of the development of various reading interests will bear out. Differentiation of sex activities, of environmental conditions, of group interests, and of home conditions is an important element in the conditioning of adolescent reading choices. But even with all these factors operating, the especial interest of boys in adventure and of girls in fiction stands out as significant of the life habits of the sexes. Notably, a new social age is dawning, and in this reading interests have been both a cause and an effect.³

Reading interests and intelligence.—Miriam B. Huber made a study of the influence of intelligence upon children's reading interests. The problem was: Do preferences in reading of dull children differ from those of children of average and superior intelligence? To solve the problem the investigator gave selections from children's literature, representing a certain range of interests, to groups of children at different levels of intelligence and under experimental conditions, and then made comparisons of their reactions and preferences. In this experiment, in the schools of Yonkers, 430

³ The studies of Terman and Lima and of Washburne and Vogel provide us with excellent book lists based largely on the reading of students. Terman, Lewis M., and Lima, Agnes: *Children's Reading*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1932. Washburne, Carleton, and Vogel, Mabel: *Winnetka Graded Book List*. American Library Association, 1926.

children in 15 classes were the subjects. The conclusions drawn were:

1. Marked preferences in different kinds of reading materials are shown by each of the three groups represented. This discrimination of preferences for the groups was consistent.

2. A striking similarity exists in the choices of the three groups for types of literature, each type representing equally good selections from the available materials of that type.

3. Dull children like the selections of humor here used less than do the average and the bright, and they like the selections designated as "familiar experience" more than do the children of the higher levels of intelligence represented by the subjects of this experiment.⁴

Other social and intellectual interests.—Aside from the change in interests in reading, in play, and in general attitude towards social and economic problems, we note a general change in some more concrete social and economic situations. These changes are commensurate and in harmony with the other changes already considered. Needless to say, the movies have come to be a real force in our public life, and the same is true of the radio. Adolescent interests here show a marked deviation from those displayed earlier in life. Mystery, love, war, comedy of the human and social type, and adventure are preferred. Boys attend the movies as a rule more than girls, except as certain seasonal play interests make for a falling off in the boys' attendance. Interest in love themes on the stage and in the movies increases steadily throughout the grades and, as in

⁴ Huber, Miriam B.: "The Influence of Intelligence upon Children's Reading Interests," *Contributions to Education*, Columbia University, Teachers College, No. 312, 1928.

reading interests, this is truer for girls than for boys. The mystery play has its greatest appeal to the ninth- and tenth-graders. Boys often show an intense interest in science, especially when it is connected with certain adventures of a heroic strain. This fact is well illustrated in the interest of high-school boys in the well-planned and heroic first flight across the Atlantic by Lindbergh. Girls very often choose as their ideal a certain actor in the movies, but boys do this only occasionally. Girls appear to have a higher, or at least cleaner, interest and appreciation of the movies, although the data indicating this were gathered subjectively and probably the girls were less frank than the boys in their responses.

There is a common conception that high-school boys and girls have no vocational preference. Discussions with vocational counselors who have worked with them show that such a conception is ill-founded. Studies by the various investigators given in the following paragraphs on permanence of interests indicate that from 75 to 98.3 per cent of junior and senior high-school boys and girls have fairly definite vocational preferences. Interviews with these boys and girls show that they are eager to find out more concerning vocations. The early, egocentric idiosyncracies of vocational choice drop out of the lives of most boys and girls before the stage of adolescent maturity.

Scientific research has shown the following general facts to be characteristic of adolescent vocational interest:

1. Pupils often make vocational choices on the basis of some single momentary factor, such as: social approval, some friend or kin's being engaged in the activity, an enthusiastic

lecture, recency of contact with some animating personality, etc.

2. Even choices that are made momentarily are usually supported by some fairly well-developed interest. The choices made are somewhat in harmony with earlier life bents.

3. Pupils of both mediocre and superior mental ability have, to a very large extent, vocational preferences.

4. Vocational interests and ambitions of high-school pupils are not in harmony with the actual possibilities of employment.

The permanence of interests.—The importance of interests depends upon factors such as kind of interest, intensity, relationship to the educational work, and permanency. The latter will in turn depend upon various forces that play upon the life of every individual. Children's interests are often found to be transient, because of the changing situations that they are constantly meeting during this plastic stage of their life.

Interests formed early in life become habits out of which other habits are established. Those interests, developed rather fully in early life, become automatic in nature and are thus foundations for further interests. However, an analysis of these early interests will show that play activities, manipulating, and collecting fall into rather large categories. If a girl at ten is interested in collecting flowers, it is not necessarily indicated that she will retain this special interest—although, to be sure, there is a likelihood that she will follow such an interest more readily than would a girl of ten who is not interested in collecting flowers. Reading interests, play interests, and home sentiments are formed rather early in life. Vocational interests are more transitory, because of the rapid change and growth of the child's experiences. The reasons given by a young child for the choice of a

vocation are not the same as those given by an adult. A large per cent of adolescent boys will give as their choice some activity related to adventure, for theirs is a life of adventure and interest in adventure.

Lehman and Witty⁵ found from a study of 26,878 school children between the ages of 8½ and 18½ that there was little permanency in most vocational interests. Other interests, they point out, are likely more permanent.

Proctor's⁶ follow-up work with 930 high-school students four years after his earlier study of their interests led to the conclusion that interests of senior high-school students are more permanent than those of junior high-school students. The results obtained from a recheck of the interests of the high-school pupils, four years after his first study, showed that the early vocational preferences were very much modified. Earlier interests, no doubt, affect later interests, but a final vocational choice is dependent upon many variables. Furthermore, a specific interest in early life may through guidance lead in one of many possible directions.

Intelligence, aptitude, and interests are all valuable indices by which to guide pupils in the selection of their curriculum. The recreational interests are of a growing process, developing and changing with the further growth and the development of the individual. In many cases early interests in general problems or principles become a potent force for further development in the life of the individual.

⁵ Lehman, H. C., and Witty, P. A.: "One More Study of Permanence of Interest," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1931, 22, pp. 481-492.

⁶ Proctor, W. M.: *Use of Psychological Tests in Educational and Vocational Guidance of High School Pupils*, Chapter VI. Bloomington: Public School Publishing Company, 1923.

If interests are to become permanent, they must be given an opportunity to become overlearned and to operate successfully. Interests must be considered according to the laws of learning—as interests developing and growing out of previous interests. If interests are to become permanent they must be built upon a rich and varied foundation. If a boy is to develop a permanent interest in athletics, the earlier interests must have been rich and the different features of athletics understood. Moreover, since interest is dependent upon ability, one would therefore expect a permanent interest to be built upon associations that are well-established. The laws of association are clearly at work in the making of permanent interests. Interests are created by training, to be sure; but the extent to which these become permanent depends upon the extent to which they are overlearned and to which the laws of association are brought into play in the enrichment and strengthening of the learned associations. Hence the problems arising around the developing interests of adolescence are complicated and given still further importance.

Sex differences in activities.—Despite the fact that experience plays such an important rôle in sex differences, we find these differences existing in practically all parts of the United States—even if they are more exaggerated in some parts of the country than in others. Usually sex differences are greatest if the activities engaged in are highly specialized for each sex. Yet today there are many similarities in interests in parts of the country that previously were quite differentiated. With girls assuming a more and more important place in the various developments, it is but natural that the

interests of girls should no longer be restricted to the home. Girls today are much more interested in national and political questions than formerly; they are also more interested in sports and in other extra-curricular activities. Table VII, in Chapter VII, gives the play activities commonly found to be engaged in by boys and girls. These are given in order of frequency, those most frequently engaged in being first; and reference to them will show a great deal of overlapping. All but a few of the activities of boys are also listed as activities of the girls.

Boys more than girls, however, prefer activities which involve motor skill and which introduce the psychological factor of competition. Some have said that boys are more extrovertive in their play life than are girls. That sex differences do exist in the play life of boys and girls is well-known by anyone who has observed carefully the play activities of the sexes. Various investigators have conducted scientific studies in an endeavor to throw further light on the question. Notably, evidence is sufficient to point out that much variation is due to factors other than sex alone.

Interests and abilities.—Several studies have been made of the relationship between interests and abilities during different periods of life. Thorndike⁷ was one of the first to investigate this general subject. He had a group of 344 college students rank their interests in the elementary school, the high school, and the college period in seven different school abilities. Correlations

⁷ Thorndike, E. L.: "Early Interests: Their Permanence and Relation to Abilities," *School and Society*, 1917, 5, pp. 178-179.

were computed between the individual's order of interest and his order of abilities, and were found to be .89 each for the elementary school, for the high school, and for college. King and Adelstein,⁸ using the method of Thorndike (except as the ranking of interest and ability was done on two different occasions), found for 140 college students correlations between school abilities and interests, for the three school periods, to be .73, .79, and .73. The general conclusions of the various studies pertaining to interest and ability do not reflect so much the individual's capacity as compared with that of others, but rather his hierarchy of abilities. Thus the individual will quite likely be most interested in those things he can do best; but this "best" does not of necessity mean superiority over others in the specified task.

One of the ultimate measures of the vitality of the experiences gained in one's school experience is the extent to which the experiences lead to desirable interests and habits which endure into maturity. Interest and motivation are very closely related. It is well-recognized by successful teachers that when work is properly motivated and based upon the interests of the subjects it appears easier to them. When a student is interested in a task, his attention remains more nearly in the marginal context and does not fluctuate far from the general pattern. Interest tends to focus the attention within a marginal field and thus should be considered as selective in nature as well as a driving force. Since learning is dependent so largely upon the attentive

⁸ King, I., and Adelstein, M.: "The Permanence of Interests and Their Relation to Abilities," *School and Society*, 1917, 6, pp. 359-360.

response of the subject, one will find a direct relation existing between interest and amount of learning. Attitude, which is closely related to learning, has been studied by various investigators as to its effect on both amount and duration of learning. It has been shown that, when different attitudes are set up by different purposes, the same subject will exhibit marked differences in amount learned. It might be laid down as a fundamental proposition that "interest breeds ability and ability breeds interest." It would be utterly impossible to be interested in a task if one knew nothing whatsoever about it.

Despite the fact that interest is closely related to ability one cannot conclude that a subject is of especially high ability in some special line merely because of his interest in that line. In the first place, there is the question of individual variation: the subject might be more interested in this special line of endeavor than in any other activity, and have better ability in it than in most other fields, but still have very little ability because of a general deficiency. A boy is observed as displaying a keen interest in baseball, but this will not mean that he will be able to make the high-school team. It will be much safer to predict that he will succeed better in baseball than in any other form of athletics; that is, he is quite likely more able to compete with a fair degree of success in this sport than in any other. There has indeed been some confusion in the drawing of conclusions concerning the relation between interest and ability. It is safer to consider the ability of the individual in the field of his intense interest in relation to his ability in other kindred activities, than to compare this ability with that of

others displaying a less intense interest in this line. Interest is closely identified with an individual's best ability, but does not insure that he will be superior to other individuals with less interest. Hence, one would expect, and it is true, that superior intelligence is rather closely identified with right choices.⁹

Expanding interests.—The child's general satisfaction with himself and his surroundings gives way during adolescence under the pressure of many problems, difficulties, and maladjustments. Once indifferent to matters not immediately related to pleasure and pain, he now has an intense curiosity and self-consciousness, and a real concern with the social and ethical standards of adults. Curiosity may show itself in a great many different ways, but is also subject to ready perversion if in unwholesome surroundings. This is true especially of those impulses and interests of the adolescent that are now maturing and becoming more and more important in his life. Satisfaction and complacency in routine is often replaced rather suddenly by a restlessness leading towards idealistic behavior trends or probably into antisocial activities. After years of activities concerned largely with egocentric interests and activity for its own sake, the adolescent is thrown into further contacts with others. With newer interests and contacts, he acquires new purposes and interests in special activities leading to definite results, whether in his play or in his work. But having acquired these expanded interests, he stands in need of further stimu-

⁹ Fryer, Douglas: "Predicting Abilities from Interests," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1927, 11, pp. 212-226.

lation, inspiration, information, and guidance. In this connection note especially the interests in club activities referred to in the preceding chapter. Recent tendencies have, in fact, been to relate these to life situations as well as to maturing and expanding interests. Through proper nourishment in various school activities the desire to excel and the willingness to coöperate, two tendencies almost diabolically opposed to each other, are fused in a growing, living interest.

As already stated, adolescent interests lead in many directions. They range from material things to ideas, people, social life, and thus find an outlet either in reality or in imaginative processes. Interests in other people are not strong during the earlier years of life, but with the ripening of the sex impulse and the development of wider social contacts, they expand into the social realms. During this period the individual is likely to develop a spirit of criticism and revolt against those things in the social order that are not in harmony with his newly developed but non-matured ideals and ideas. Yet the child now recognizes himself as a member of the social order, and is interested especially in group and adult activities to the exclusion of activities of a childish nature. Sensitiveness is developed in relation to childish interests, and the individual reacts against those things that would reflect unfavorably upon his pursuit of becoming a member of the greater social group. Interests are developed in harmony with those of the group; sympathy, approbation, and general approval having a large influence in determining their trend and extent. The morale of the group also will determine in no small part their nature.

Thought Questions

1. Point out the significance of adolescents' interests in magazines.
2. Name some factors that would determine one's reading interests.
3. What is the relation between interest in a particular subject and ability in that subject?
4. Study the early life (adolescent period) of some of our leaders of today. What interests dominated their life during the adolescent age?
5. Discuss the range of adolescent interests as compared with the interests of the eight-year-old child.
6. What interests have been somewhat permanent in your own life? Why?
7. Show how a knowledge of the nature of adolescents' interests is of especial value to a school teacher; to a scout master.

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CHAPTER IX

Moral and Religious Growth

The aim of moral education.—The aim of moral education is not so much to give knowledge of what is right and what is wrong, but rather to develop in the growing child or adolescent the desire and the will to do right. The important principle in moral education as applied to the adolescent is to establish activities and ideals that are in harmony with the welfare of the group. An ideal that has become more or less habitual is thought of as an attitude; therefore, in the final analysis moral education is concerned with developing attitudes towards life. The ideal, established as a habit, becomes a mechanism and acts as a drive in controlling human behavior. An established attitude is a habit system built out of lesser habit systems into a hierarchy, in which generalizations are present. The boy who is taught to be courteous to his mother and has established this as an attitude rather than a stereotyped habit does not need to generalize so much when he faces his teacher. The child who has developed the attitude of truthfulness in his home will meet other social situations with an attitude of truthfulness.

Several problems of importance are encountered as we study the moral life of the adolescent: (1) What are the desirable attitudes which the school should strive to establish? (2) What specific habit patterns, when

integrated, tend to produce such ideals and attitudes?
(3) How can these specific habits best be acquired and integrated into a general attitude?

Moral development.—Positive character comes only from the child's own *desiring* and *willing*. *The very essence of moral development in the adolescent is desiring and willing in harmony with behavior patterns considered desirable by the group.* The first step in the process of developing a truly moral individual is that of encouraging initiative and curiosity in the child. So long as the adolescent is led to accept and follow blindly the dictates of someone older, just so long will he fail to develop genuine moral attitudes. The individual must recognize his own ability and nature, must be led to discover his weaknesses, and must understand himself as the cause of certain happenings.

The maximum age for malicious mischief has been found to be around fourteen, crimes against property being most frequent. Misdemeanors, less offensive, are generally the result of an intense desire for the excitement that they furnish. Often the aim seems to be to get just beyond the law, there being a great attraction towards any conduct that breaks through the established order, and much excitement in doing what is forbidden. In dealing with this form of offense the adult must see and understand the situation in its true light, and retain sympathy and confidence in the ability and developing habit patterns of the adolescent.

Truancy is not extremely harmful in itself but is likely to lead to troublesome and dangerous complications; it may easily be the beginning of vagabondage and vagrancy. The causes being numerous and being

illustrated later in connection with certain problem cases, we shall not attempt to set them forth here. Suffice it to say that early behavior patterns present certain formative structures out of which morals tend to develop. When a behavior pattern serves in bringing about satisfaction and reward, we may expect that particular behavior pattern to become fixated as a part of the individual's moral life.

Various ideals and habit systems are brought into a general attitude which gives moral tone to the adolescent's life. But although ideals uplift and brighten his life, still we often find in him an attitude of incompleteness and discontent. His ideals have not become fully unified into a firm system of thought. His habits as yet are in a formative stage, and many elements of his experience are in conflict. So unless he passes on towards the realization of his ideals, he is likely to develop an antipathy for others who are realizing ideals of this type. This is a form of compensating mechanism at work in the individual. Those dealing with adolescents should, therefore, aid them to realize their possibilities and attempt to motivate them to reach such desirable goals as they set up.

Moral traits of adolescence.—*Morality naturally comes to be identified with conduct that secures social approval.* Conduct during early adolescence has not become so established that it harmonizes with a conscientiously organized system of thought. Adolescent morality in its simplest form accepts the laws and established social harmony which obtain in the group concerned. The acts and modes of conduct which reign in the adolescent's social environment are easily thought of as good,

and they readily assume the validity of moral laws that must be obeyed if he hopes to be socially secure. The pressure of social circumstances strongly tends to build up and organize inner drives that will harmonize with overt behavior the elements of character that are being compounded.

During the unique period of preadolescence the child is neither moral nor immoral; he is to a large degree unmoral. Whatever his conduct may be, it is largely the result of simple forces that have played upon and thus conditioned his behavior during the earlier years of life. This is not so true of later adolescence, for now the period of habitual morality has closed. Whatever his actions may be, we are certain that the adolescent is thinking and reacting to various situations in terms of ideals which are being established as a unified part of his personality. Then it is not so strange that he turns part of his newly acquired abilities and interests towards problems more far-reaching, involving common ideals, and pertaining to conduct.

Religion and habit integration.—Various attempts have been made to relate the religious activities of man to instinctive tendencies. The religious activities so universally present have apparently developed out of a medley of impulses, such as fear, assertion, sex, and the developed desires and interests of the individual. These impulses, some of which are outgrowths of native impulses, become integrated as drives in the intellectual and social habits of man.

The importance of will power in relation to religion is constantly being emphasized. Account has to be taken of the emotional, intellectual, social, and volitional

elements, which are often taken to represent special types of religious experiences. One cannot well separate these, for in every social experience one finds more than one of them present. Modern religious life attempts to integrate them in such a way as to secure and maintain a due balance and proportion among them. The emotional element is ever related to the social element, and both of these need to be directed and interpreted along with the intellectual phase. With an intellectual religion void of the emotional element man would be an intellectual robot, without joys or sorrows. The social element becomes of special significance through the action of symbolism. In symbolism there is a good example of the working of a social consciousness or group mind: both feeling and belief are brought together into a unified response.

Socio-moral transition.—As we view the moral behavior of the modern adolescent, we are again reminded of the old dictum that is present with each generation: "The young of today are going to the devil." This is true of every generation, but somehow the young are always able as a group to elude the devil and come forth stable and well-balanced. The past several generations in the United States have witnessed a nation passing through the period of childhood, and today we see it emerging as a full-grown nation with large cities, gigantic industries, economic ills, and startling scientific achievements. The youth of today is facing problems, not of the simple rural life of a few decades ago, but rather of a moving, electrical, and complex social life. These socio-moral changes have been summed up as follows:

- (1) Instability of the social group through change in standards.
- (2) Concentration of people in cities because of the

factory system. Hence the problem of finding means for legitimate and healthful exercise of adolescent energies. (3) Inadequate distribution of wealth. Hence the problem of developing healthy mental attitudes in the children of the extremely poor and preventing corruption of the children of the wealthy by luxury. (4) Loosening of home control because of more economic opportunities outside the home. At one time the boy's and especially the girl's economic dependence on the home was absolute. By this pressure, if by no other means, the father could bring rebellious children to terms. (5) Weakened control of the church, because of advance in science. Formerly religion put its seal and sanction on morality. They were one and inseparable. But with the progress of science, the growing tendency to identify God with natural law has effected a separation. The majority of young people no longer fear the wrath of a personal God, of a fiery pit, if they defy the authority of the church. Authority as such has ceased to function. That restraint has been lifted. . . . (6) Increased freedom for the adolescent without adequate education in the use of freedom.¹

Thus, we find a socio-moral transition has taken place already, and is today in the process of being furthered. Religion, control, education, and guidance must be adapted to the changes that have been and are being wrought in our twentieth-century civilization. Modern religious leaders must get farther away from rules and specific creeds in their efforts to guide the youths of today. Parents and teachers must look to the present and future civilization that we are confronted with, rather than to a form of civilization that we have already outgrown. It has been said that, "He has the strongest influence on his pupils who is most completely emanci-

¹ Dowd, Marion: "Concerning the Socio-moral Life and Behavior of the Adolescent," *Education*, 1928, 49, p. 73.

pated from rules and systems." Sham, hypocrisy, and dishonesty must be exorcised from teaching if the moral aims of the present day are to survive. As we pass from a review of this transition period, we notice a rather distinct change today in the amount and nature of the conversion of adolescent subjects.

The period of conversion.—Turning to the transition from childhood to adolescence, one finds some important religious significances. The general development of the child is complicated in nature and is conditioned by many factors, among which are the development of the original tendencies charged with their incoherent energies, and also a constantly growing stock of energy seeking outlet. The child develops in an environment which perpetually provides material for the formation of complexes of all sorts that are more or less an outgrowth of original tendencies. At the same time the environment establishes a mental conflict between purely egoistic impulses and sex on the one hand, and various growing social habits on the other.

The adolescent period is characterized by various physiological changes which have very definite influences on the individual's psychic development. This period has already been described as one in which there is manifested a marked expression of self-consciousness, as well as a marked development of social consciousness. This development of a social consciousness, during which the child comes to be looked upon as a social rather than as an egocentric individual, tends to follow naturally the realization of life's purposes and the consciousness of perfected physical and mental powers. "In cases of normal development the religious teaching and impres-

sions of childhood now come to a head, and are invested with a reality and significance they formerly lacked.”²

This period often represents a crisis—a development from the earlier years in which religious ideas are only half understood and are concrete in nature to a natural and healthy growth into habit patterns involving a more definite religious awakening. This growth, if the individual has been supplied with religious surroundings of a wholesome but non-dominant type, will be gradual and become more intensified in feeling and more vital and real in its issues and meaning. This is a process of religious growth by education, and is to be preferred to religious development of a “storm and stress” nature. The latter type of religious experience is accompanied by vivid emotional experiences. The individual has had painted for him a dramatic picture filled with emotional stimuli, and this picture tends to establish morbid fears and extreme shame, as well as a feeling of guilt. A feeling or sense of sin may be established in the individual who has actually lived a normal healthy life, and this sense of sin is often connected with sex development. The individual is given distorted ideas of the relation between the self and God, and comes to feel that he is an outcast and has fallen wholly from the path set by God. Here we find a real contrast with the former case, in which the child has always been given a wholesome yet non-dogmatic view of life and God. Young folks who have developed balanced habit systems under proper guidance will often confess that they never have realized that they were true sinners, and see no reason why they

² Selbie, W. H.: *The Psychology of Religion*, p. 176. London: Oxford University Press, 1926.

should resort to crying, trembling, and morbid fears in order to be saved from their past wrongdoings.

Especially in evangelical circles where conversions of a sudden nature are constantly found, do we find an extreme emphasis placed upon the sins of the adolescent. This emphasis upon the necessity for the conviction of having sinned develops an imaginary sense of sin and a group of morbid fears. The adolescents become obsessed with a condition in which they are pictured as almost beyond redemption, and when this becomes too much accentuated, emotional anxiety, self-consciousness, and perverted ideas are present. These may be grouped into such a complex behavior pattern that a healthy religious development becomes well-nigh impossible, with a perverted imagination, or an entire revolt against religious appeal in general, as a result.

Not always do we have presented such a dark picture of the convert who has passed through a storm-and-stress period. If the individual is awakened and stimulated to further thought and activity with a positive emphasis on new loyalties, the group welfare, and proper habits of conduct, there will likely be a more healthy and balanced growth in the social, educational, and religious life. It is when the negative emphasis, in which the sins of the past are recounted and the natural sex and the various social tendencies are criticized so vehemently, that we find morbid fears developing and becoming prime factors in the development of emotional instability and perversions. Adolescent boys and girls are susceptible to religious appeals. Statistics of conversion as well as various testimonies, however, show that girls are more affected by the emotional appeal in religious life while

boys are more attracted by codes of honor, ethical sanction, and group activity.

Adolescent doubts.—Many adolescents, especially those whose early training has been dogmatic in nature, become very skeptical of all problems not concrete and not specific in nature. As the growing, developing youth increases his realm of knowledge and develops better habits of thinking, he is led to question many of the things he had formerly accepted uncritically. The youth coming into contact with more of life's realities assumes more mental and moral independence. He is thrown upon his own initiative, and required to make decisions for himself. He therefore develops habits of thinking and analyzing on the basis of fact. He comes to learn that many of the things he had been taught earlier and had accepted uncritically are not in harmony with the facts presented at school or in his everyday readings. Early faith, so firmly entrenched, thus receives a serious setback when the child learns that the answers to many of his questions were not based upon almost obvious facts.

This critical attitude develops according to the developmental viewpoint as presented throughout this study. It has its beginning with the first observations of the child that the things he has been taught are not wholly in harmony with facts observable in later life. Disillusion with Santa Claus stories and the like aid in destroying faith in other early teachings. This destruction of early faith continues with the acquirement of certain scientific principles which are out of harmony with early learning. Thus the development of doubt continues and finds further support in the behavior and attitude assumed by

those that have a powerfully suggestive influence over the life of the subject.

Functional peculiarities of beliefs and attitudes are at this stage of life quite prevalent. The adolescent may desire to stay away from church for some social reason; therefore he comes to doubt the value of the work of the church as well as the general honesty of the leaders. This doubting may serve further to effect the satisfaction of a desire that has been blooming, or justify some need already existing. During adolescence there are usually several elements in the situation that combine to augment doubts extremely.

How should doubts be treated? In the first place one should recognize that doubting is not confined to the religious sphere of life. Neither should one be misled into believing that doubting is a universal trait and therefore similar in nature to an instinctive form of behavior. The adolescent does not need a dogma or creed to anchor on: his need is to find himself, and to interrelate in his own thinking the processes of the universe with the general plan of life. An anchorage in open sea in a storm is the type of treatment usually given the individual during this stage. But the first essential to help the individual to find himself is intellectual honesty. Of course, facts and knowledge should be gathered in harmony with individual needs and interests.

Ideals and the adolescent.—The integration of behavior units into a general schema or pattern, the development therefrom of a potent force that acts as a drive or tendency towards further activity, has been referred to in connection with habits as drives to behavior. Now it

is in this integration of the various units of behavior that ideals arise and thus come to control the behavior of the individual. During the early days of life ideals are passing through an elementary formative stage in harmony with the child's innate tendencies and the environmental forces playing upon him. The individual's experiences are then rather narrow and his ideals very elementary, involving mainly the welfare and pleasure of the ego. (The socializing process at work on the playground, in club activity, in social life, etc., has already been discussed in this connection.) But as we look upon the socializing process as a process of growth and development, so must we consider the growth of ideals similarly, especially during this expanding and developing period of life from twelve to twenty-one. Ideals are thus dependent upon maturation and experience, and may be narrow or broad, in harmony with a wider and fuller life.

Sex differences in ideals.—Boys have usually been found to be broader in their ideals, and more liberal in their beliefs, than girls. Siebert³ studied 12,014 questions asked by 6419 German students from eight to eighteen years of age and from all kinds of schools and homes. Divisions of the questions by ages showed two marked turning points in the developing interests, attitudes, and ideals, which were: the conclusion of the *Grundschule* period in the tenth year, and the beginning of the *adolescent* period at the age of about thirteen or fourteen. The adolescent boys and girls asked more

³ Siebert, H.: "Beitrag zur Bestimmung der Interessenrichtung von Schülern auf Grund von Schülerfragen," *Archive für die Gesamte Psychologie*, 1928, 64, pp. 93-124.

questions about other peoples, other countries, other religions, and various scientific productions. The boys asked more questions than girls and showed a keener interest in economic problems; the girls did not manifest so much interest in politics as the boys. These findings are no doubt influenced primarily by custom and the earlier life of the girls and boys, but they are significant not only for that but also for the appearance of broadening interests.

Boys seldom include girls as an ideal in life toward which to work, or an example to imitate; but girls quite often include boys. Also, there is a greater stigma attached to a feminine boy than there is to a boyish girl. Custom and tradition here have left, in fact, a deep imprint upon the attitudes of growing boys and girls. Ideals depend in no small way upon the home life and social station of the individuals concerned, this being probably truer for girls than for boys. Girls pick their friends and choose their companions more on the basis of social standing than do boys. Several factors are responsible for this trait, but one can see very clearly in it the influence of traditions and customs. Sometimes the motive of keeping the family name prominent in the eyes of the public may serve as a partial drive and thus develop in the child a worthy and noble ideal.

The growth of self-control.—With increased maturity at adolescence, individuals' ideas become related to principles and ideals. Ideational activities become clearly related to other habit systems, this being especially true as they relate to growing emotional habits. Ideational habits become related to the emotional, appetitive, and manual habit systems, which become unified

and organized with respect to specific volitional situations and thus control actions relating to such situations. In the growth of the will, ideational activity which has been integrated into the beliefs and desires of the individual comes to prominence, and more and more replaces emotional forms of behavior.

Volitional growth might well be thought of as growth in self-control. This is negative insofar as behavior is inhibited, and positive as it is initiated. This development is especially noticeable in adolescent play behavior—in the giving of “dares” and the taking of “risks.” It is noticeable also in the determination to win the game, to outwit opponents. Through play activity the adolescent gets a true lesson in the values of intense effort, in perseverance and coöperation. The lessons are real rather than theoretical, and the appreciation of failure and success probably keener than in any other phase of the activity of the adolescent.

Under the best conditions group activity can do no more than adjust the individuals participating to the ethical standards of the group, whereas moral education, if instilled in group activity, can aim at the creation of a constantly higher level of habit systems. Everyone who has worked with the adolescent boy and girl will recognize the value of suggestion on the part of the leader. This suggestion must have the proper psychological setting if it is to have the greatest effect, and for this effect the participants' confidence in the leader must be established. Furthermore, there must be an opportunity for the proper expression of emotional excitement. Still further, the action suggested must be somewhat in harmony with the interests and needs of the group, and

must be formulated and carried out by the group, suggestion here being as indirect as possible. Finally, repeated stimulation is a good means of carrying through any suggestion—it is used in various walks of life in getting results from social stimuli. If a group of boys and girls working together are to develop codes of honor and the moral conceptions that are in harmony with the ideals of the state and community, these codes must be constantly held up before them.

As ideals held up before the adolescent serve as repeated stimulation, with each victory over obstacles placed in his road he will have an increased power of persistence. But there must be not only a repeated stimulation, but also the establishment of confidence in the worthwhileness of the ideal both for the present and for the future. He must be able to see that the possession of such an ideal will enable him to win where he could not win otherwise. One cannot hope to develop an ideal, though the purpose be ever so noble and great, if the ideal is not related to success and ultimate reward and victory. A true ideal becomes firmly entrenched only through repeated stimulation, confidence, reward, and an ultimate success.

Summary.—The essence of moral development is conceived of in relation to individual initiative and will power in desirable modes of behavior. Morality is identified with conduct that procures social approval. Religion and morals have often been used by the layman as synonymous terms, but religion is more systematized and focalized. Both are developed by the individual through the process of individual growth. The mental and social development of adolescents are closely related

to a religious awakening and the growth of moral concepts. During adolescence conversion reaches its peak, only to be followed in postadolescent years by doubts. Doubting grows out of wider social and intellectual contacts, and in this the adolescent needs sane, reliable, and honest guidance. Ideals represent an integration of behavior units into a larger pattern, which comes to be a vital force in determining conduct. With the fuller mental and social growth and the development of ideals come habits of self-control, which is the essential element in the development of a moral nature.

Thought Problems

1. What is morality and with what is it identified?
2. What are some of the factors that will determine the morals of a given group at a given period?
3. How are morals and ideals related?
4. List the causes of doubting as it develops in the life of the adolescent. State which of these have operated with you, if any.
5. Criticize the idea that there is a religious instinct.
6. Compare the moral concept of the adolescent and that of the young school child.
7. Why would morals be different among different tribes?
8. What is meant by the term "realities" as used in this chapter? Of what importance is this term?
9. How is morality related to self-restraint? to blind obedience?

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PART II
PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER X

Personality

The Meaning of Personality

The scope of study.—For purposes of scientific analysis and for an understanding of the nature of adolescents the preceding chapters have dealt primarily with the problems of individual development, interests, motivation, and other particular phases or directions of adolescent development. The adolescent thus far has been considered largely from an analytic viewpoint, although we have recognized and called attention to the fact that there is a general unity and integration ever present in the developmental process. This was especially emphasized in the discussions of the relation between mental and physical growth, of biological and social motivation, and of the moral and religious development of adolescents. The point of emphasis is shifted here to the adolescent as a whole. However, for a better understanding of some of the components of behavior it will be necessary at times to resort to an analysis of the individual subject. Stated more exactly, our problems will center in the study of the *personality* of the adolescent.

Personality defined.—Personality is frequently grouped with *spirit*, *soul*, *ego*, and the like and considered as something well-nigh indefinable. Personality is very complex, and for this reason we find a lack of agreement

in the definitions offered. The one thing that psychologists do agree on in discussing the nature of personality is that the term covers a great deal, but there is a lack of agreement as to what is covered by the term. A few definitions here will illustrate:

F. C. Dockeray: "We may define personality as the totality of reaction tendencies which determine the individual's effectiveness in his social environment."¹

R. S. Woodworth: "Personality, then, is the quality of the individual's total behavior, it is how he acts, when his activity is taken as a whole."²

F. A. Moss: "Personality consists of the individual's native traits, both physical and mental, as modified by the diseases he has had, the food he has eaten, the people with whom he has come in contact, and the training he has received."³

Franz, S. I., and Gordon, Kate: "'Personality' means that whole combination of mental and physical qualities by which an individual may be identified. It is practically the same as the idea of 'self.'"⁴

From these definitions we note that there is no general agreement as to what personality is or as to the relationship between the different elements involved. Some conceive of personality largely as a result of heredity; that is, of the inheritance of certain temperamental, mental, and physical traits which manifest themselves in a given environment.

¹ Dockeray, F. C.: *General Psychology*, p. 532. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932.

² Woodworth, R. S.: *Psychology* (Revised ed.), p. 553. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929.

³ Moss, F. A.: "Transient Changes in Personality," *Psychology Today*, p. 93. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.

⁴ Franz, S. I., and Gordon, Kate: *Psychology*, p. 18. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933.

From another point of view personality is a result largely of environmental influences which develop certain characteristic behavior traits in the individual. From still another point of view personality consists of all the habits, attitudes, and ideals possessed by an individual as a result of his particular heredity and as a result of the reactions which he has made to environmental stimuli. These are not totally different viewpoints; however, each places the emphasis on slightly different things.⁵

Yet the emphasis throughout these definitions is on the totality, unity, or combination of elements that identifies a particular individual.

Personality as an integration of traits.—The personality of an individual depends not only upon the traits that he possesses but upon the integration of such traits. By integration is meant the general organization of traits into a larger unit of behavior, and with some traits becoming subordinate to others in such an organization. Personality, therefore, cannot be considered as so many separate traits; rather, the individual's personality is made up of a totality and pattern of such traits. Many people lose sight of the integrative nature of personality in their study of the individual, as is especially in evidence in the classification of all individuals with the same educational achievement as similar in personality. The same error is made with regard to criminals, professional classes, people of the same intelligence, etc. It is only when two individuals have absolutely identical heredity, identical training, and identical organic conditions, that one could expect various personality elements to be integrated into identical personality patterns.

⁵ Garrison, S. C. and Garrison K. C.: *The Psychology of the Elementary School Subjects*, p. 190. Richmond: Johnson Publishing Co., 1928.

How broad organic traits or behavior trends become is a problem both of physiology and of sociology. The complexity of habit patterns involving the higher levels of behavior will depend upon the integration of these various patterns into a general behavior pattern; the *Gestalt* school in Germany has emphasized certain aspects of behavior allied to this general problem. Few psychologists would affirm the complete isolation of behavior patterns from physiological and social relations; that habits become integrated into larger units of behavior has been emphasized throughout our discussion of the adolescent. More complex behavior patterns involving the social and biological life of the organism are to be regarded as constituting a higher level of organization more complex in nature than the simple behavior habits out of which they grow.

The growing nature of personality.—Since adolescence is a period especially marked by physical, mental, and emotional changes, one can expect corresponding changes in the personality of the adolescent subject. During adolescence mental maturity is reached. Physical growth, which was discussed in Chapter II, is rather rapid early in this period, but there are some rather abrupt organic changes involved. The thymus gland ceases to function; the sex glands begin to function, and thus a new endocrine balance is established. The child's egocentric nature thus takes on a social form, correlated with the changed endocrine self. The child is now held responsible for acts committed by the self; society looks upon the personality as a growing social force, and now sees not Smith's child but Mr. Smith's young daughter. The impression the growing individual makes upon others

is therefore changing with the growing elements that contribute as a general configuration to personality.

Personality cannot be considered as some element existing ready-made in each individual and thus functioning in a constant manner in all situations. Too often personality has been defined in terms of the individual's reactions to social situations. Personality, as viewed in the study here, is too inclusive to limit to social reactions. Personality might be thought of as egocentric, physical, social, and vital in nature.

Again, it is interesting to note the personality of an individual as we observe it in different situations. The writer has in mind a fourteen-year-old girl, whom for convenience we shall call Edna. She is very disobedient at home, especially in response to her mother's requests, and the mother thinks of her as "a little smarty." In the presence of her older sister in social situations Edna is quite submissive and timid, but with the boys and girls in the eighth grade at school Edna is quite sociable, and is liked by all. Not only do we notice different behavior patterns when Edna is in three different situations, but even when she is "performing" in the presence of any one of these situations we shall likely notice an at least partial exhibition of these other personality characteristics. Thus, personality cannot be considered apart from the situation in which the various traits are exhibited. Some situations will call forth some traits, while another situation may call forth a very different pattern of traits. The combination of traits present in a particular situation will depend upon many variables, such as maturity, sex, habit systems, health, present attitude, general social pattern, etc.

Personality, therefore, is not a constant factor as presented from time to time or place to place. It is constantly growing and changing in harmony with physical, mental, and emotional developments. Watson says:

Naturally if personality is but a cross section at any given age of the complete organization of an individual, you can see that this cross section must change at least slightly every day—but not too rapidly for us to get a fair picture from time to time. Personality changes most rapidly in youth when habit patterns are forming, maturing and changing. Between 15 and 18 a female changes from a child to a woman. At 15 she is but the playmate of boys and girls of her own age. At 18 she becomes a sex object to every man. After 30 personality changes very slowly owing to the fact, as we brought out in our study of habit formation, that by that time most individuals, unless constantly stimulated by a new environment, are pretty well settled into a humdrum way of living. Habit patterns become set. If you have an adequate picture of the average individual at 30 you will have it with few changes for the rest of that individual's life—as most lives are lived. A quacking, gossiping, neighbor-spying, disaster-enjoying woman of 30 will be, unless a miracle happens, the same at 40 and still the same at 60.⁶

Responsibility and adolescent personality.—If the adolescent personality is to be balanced and thus become better unified in behavior, habits of responsibility must be developed. A well-unified habit system with the proper volitional, attentive, persistent, and imitative types of habits developed in harmony with the individual's innate physical and mental ability, is impossible unless the boys and girls are given the opportunity to

⁶ Watson, J. B.: *Behaviorism*, p. 223. New York: W. W. Norton, 1924.

accept responsibility and are held accountable for consequences. The stage of maturity has been reached in which they can see, understand, and generalize from the social, economic, and political problems of today; and in order that responsibility may be more meaningful, adolescents should be given the further opportunity of participating in activities leading towards the acceptance of such responsibility. This participation will foster a spirit of fair play and coöperation, habits of confidence, and a larger consideration of the rights of others.

Interests in play, club work, reading, vocations, etc., have already been considered in preceding chapters. These early interests, developing in harmony with innate tendencies, will furnish the drive for the adolescent in carrying through responsibilities with which he is entrusted. Individual interest and successful responsibility will be definitely related to each other. If the drive is constantly being blocked or diverted into other channels and an excess of guidance is given in the assigned tasks, the boys and girls will be deprived of opportunities that rightly belong to them and should be given them if they are to become the worthy, responsible citizens so much needed in a democracy. Habits of responsibility develop through practice and experience, not through a blind following and imitation.

Social activities and personality.—We have noted adolescent interests in clubs, team games, etc., and that participation in the activities of the group is very prevalent during adolescence. If they have developed normally, adolescents will constantly seek the companionship of members of the opposite sex as well as of their own. Social qualities become quite pronounced in

speech, conduct, and common motor expressions. In the development of a social being there must of course be contact with others, but some other elements are essential, such as: (1) Some important activity in common, *e.g.*, a language, symbol, creed, aim, etc.; (2) the effect of suggestion by the activities of others; and (3) an acquaintance, unity, or some general interfeeling and intercommunication.

The activities of each member of the group serve as stimuli in conditioning and thus determining the responses of the other members. The individual's personality is largely a result of these social forces that influence and mold his general habit systems from early life. A reasonable amount of social stimulation will tend to develop the proper balance between the introvert and the extrovert form of personality. Moreover, a reasonable amount of properly organized social experience will tend to eliminate mental conflicts and neurotic tendencies from the habit patterns of the growing adult.

Studying Personality

Personality traits.—Despite the fact that personality cannot be thought of as the sum total of so many traits, one can get a good insight of personality by studying the individual in these various traits and then considering the traits in their relation to each other. Various classifications of personality traits have been given. Probably a representative list is that presented by Dashiell,⁷ which is adapted from Allport's list:

⁷ Dashiell, J. F.: *Fundamentals of Objective Psychology*, p. 552. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928.

- I. Physique.
 1. Size.
 2. Strength.
 3. Health.
 4. Beauty.
- II. Intelligence.
 1. General.
 2. Special aptitudes.
 3. Knowledge equipment (habits of perceiving, discriminating, etc.).
- III. Motility.
 1. Hyperkinetic *vs.* hypokinetic.
 2. Impulsive *vs.* inhibited.
 3. Graceful *vs.* awkward.
- IV. Temperament.
 1. Quickness.
 2. Intensity.
 3. Stability.
 4. Emotional attitude.
- V. Motivation.
 1. Directions.
 2. Focalization.
 3. Extroversion *vs.* introversion.
 4. Ascendance *vs.* submission.
 5. Methods of adjusting to difficulties.
- VI. Sociability.
 1. Social perception.
 2. Socialization of habits.

It goes without saying that some of these traits are more important in the makeup of the individual than others. Some are more dependent upon hereditary factors. On the whole, they are combined into a general unit pattern or *Gestalt*, and as a general configuration this produces a certain impression on each single trait. It is this pattern of integration that makes up the individual's personality.

The estimate of a personality is in terms of the way these integrated traits impress one. The existence of one trait may suggest to the observer certain other traits associated with it, and thus a prediction of other traits is made. The extent to which such predictions are reliable will depend upon accuracy of observation and the actual association of the traits themselves. The perception of specific traits naturally gives the observer a special organic "set" or readiness to see or sense in some manner the display of actions commonly associated with those traits. Take as an example the musician. Not only one's own appreciation and individual interests but characteristic mannerisms and specific personal characteristics of the musician, as dress, hair, etc., tend to give one the special "set" or readiness for music. We are familiar with the characteristic business man and his economic point of view, direct statements, etc.; we see also the characteristic college professor pictured in the movies with his glasses, his books, his absentmindedness, and his occasional impractical turn of mind. In each of these personalities is a general combination or pattern of traits that tends to give us a special impression. Naturally, since the personality is judged on the basis of the traits observed, all traits that are not recognized as existing or that are not observed are not taken into consideration in the appraisal of the individual's real personality.

Methods of studying personality.—The study and evaluation of personality is carried on in many different ways and in practically every walk of life. In connection with the observation of the personality of others Watson says:

The study of the so-called normal personality of other people should convince us that close observation of behavior over a long period of time is our only way of reaching conclusions about personality. Short observation and personal interviews reveal some things, to be sure. Vocational tests and intelligence tests reveal many others. But only long, sustained observations of individuals at work and at play in the complex situations of daily life can ever yield data on general work habits (neatness, assiduity, the taking of temporary overload and the like), on the so-called moral habits (honesty, loyalty, freedom from excesses, etc.) and on the emotional habits (temper, sensitiveness, exclusiveness, shyness, exhibition, inferiority, and the like).⁸

The interest in personality studies centers to a large degree in the adolescent period, for here we have (a) colorful materials, (b) many organizations interested in this formative period, and (c) because of the formal organizations of adolescent boys and girls, a rich field for gathering a large amount of materials. Some of the methods most commonly used in studying personality are: (1) traditional methods which include the photograph and testimonials, (2) the rating-scale technique, (3) objective testing on specific character and personality tasks, (4) an introspective analysis and the use of an inventory of questions, (5) the questionnaire, and (6) tests of various personality elements. The traditional methods have not been found to be either reliable or valid; hence they are not considered further here. The other methods are considered here mainly in terms of uses that have been made of them rather than descriptively.

⁸ Watson, J. B.: *Behaviorism*, p. 234. New York: W. W. Norton, 1924.

The rating scale.—Of the rating scale the following has been said:

The rating technique has been devised to facilitate the judging of one person by another, by providing the judge with a list of traits and [having] . . . him state possible gradations within each trait. The improvements that have come about in studying character by this technique are due to several [modified] procedures. These changed procedures are of the following types: (1) The character area or trait being rated is more objectively defined for the different gradations; (2) efforts are made to eliminate the "halo" effect; (3) ratings are to be obtained by several judges; and (4) all ratings are to be based upon observations of conduct.⁹

The study by Hughes¹⁰ in which the rating-scale technique was used shows the close relationship existing between certain character or personality variables. These correlations, of which an adaptation is presented in Table X, reveal the closest agreement between traits somewhat similar in nature, such as "control of attention" and "retentiveness of memory"; and between such temperamental or volitional traits as "self-confidence" and "initiative-aggressiveness."

Behavior tests.—Objective tests of specific character and personality traits by means of samples of behavior activities have been widely used by practical executives and supervisors. The problem of setting up objective situations that will require the subject to display the nature of some specific trait is, however, very difficult.

⁹ Garrison, K. C., and Howell, Sue Craft: "The Relationship between Character Trait Ratings and Certain Mental Abilities," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1931, 15, pp. 378-389.

¹⁰ Hughes, W. H.: "General Principles and Results of Rating Trait Characteristics," *Journal of Educational Method*, 1925, 4, pp. 241-431.

TABLE X
INTERCORRELATIONS OF PERSONALITY-TRAIT RATINGS OF 450 SENIOR
HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS (HUGHES, 1925)

PERSONALITY TRAITS	<i>Trustworthiness</i>	<i>Sense of Accuracy</i>	<i>Self-confidence</i>	<i>Initiative-Aggressiveness</i>	<i>Respect for Authority</i>	<i>Coöperation</i>	<i>Force of Personality</i>	<i>Capacity for Leadership</i>	<i>Quickness of Thought</i>	<i>Control of Attention</i>	<i>Retentiveness of Memory</i>
Regularity-persistence	.79	.75	.49	.55	.72	.63	.49	.41	.64	.75	.71
Trustworthiness		.79	.47	.56	.77	.68	.55	.46	.64	.77	.69
Sense of accuracy			.64	.66	.67	.69	.61	.56	.79	.78	.79
Self-confidence				.80	.42	.59	.70	.68	.74	.58	.67
Initiative-aggressiveness					.53	.72	.77	.78	.77	.67	.72
Respect for authority						.71	.52	.44	.53	.70	.63
Coöperation							.74	.73	.67	.67	.68
Force of personality								.83	.74	.66	.65
Capacity for leadership									.70	.60	.60
Quickness of thought										.77	.82
Control of attention											.82

The tests devised by Hartshorne and May¹¹ and designed to appraise deceitful conduct are noteworthy in this respect. The experimenters concluded from data gathered by means of a battery of tests that neither habits of

¹¹ Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A.: *Tests of Honesty and Trustworthiness*. New York: Association Press, 1928.

deceit nor habits of honesty could be considered a unified character trait, but that such habits were specific in nature—being established in connection with rather definite situations.

Tests of persistence have been developed in which the subject shows how long he will withstand a number of painful stimuli applied to the hands, or will continue at work on some monotonous problem that is impossible of solution. This test is similar in nature to six tests of inhibition used by Hartshorne and May in their studies in character. Self-control or inhibition was measured by the subjects' ability to postpone looking at interesting pictures and manipulating interesting playthings, or to work at a rather monotonous task. Various tests are designed to test honesty, coöperation, and other character traits by the behavior test method.¹²

An introspective analysis.—The importance of the new developments present at the beginning of adolescence has been emphasized throughout our study. If adolescent subjects are to be aided in the development of desirable habit systems, it is quite essential for them to be guided and motivated in the growth of their new habits. An introspective (subjective) analysis is sometimes used to evaluate in a more definite and accurate manner some of the more abstract qualities of personality. It is by means of such an analysis that the subject is led to realize his possibilities and limitations and to find those elements in his general character development that are interfering

¹² Hartshorne, H., and May, M.: *Studies in Deceit*, 1928. Hartshorne and Maller, J.: *Studies in Service and Self Control*, 1929. Hartshorne and Shuttlesworth, F. K.: *Studies in the Organization of Character*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930.

with the fuller development of the self. That adolescent boys and girls are able to analyze the elementary habits that are essential to the building of desirable character and personality qualities is indicated in a study by Froemming of 1800 boys, members of newsboy clubs, in the schools of Milwaukee.¹³ He gave a self-analysis questionnaire, containing six questions with printed directions, to each of these boys; oral instructions also were given. The task was to name four means that would aid in establishing each of the six traits listed. The most common responses to the first three questions are given in Table XI.

The results of this study give a rather interesting analysis of the viewpoints of these boys on activities essential to desirable habit patterns. The answers were probably influenced by a great number of attitudes and motives resulting from the counseling of the newsboy clubs. Such responses can be taken to represent a cross-section of a group of boys' experiences. These responses further indicate that the counseling of boys of this age, if conducted in such a manner that their ideals and interests are appealed to, can be expected to get worthwhile results. Successful leaders working with Boy Scouts have constantly followed such a procedure, probably more informally, in fixing the boys' attention upon their own shortcomings in order that they can raise their behavior activities to a more desirable level. Everything one does is an indication of the possession or absence of some personality quality or trait. Every

¹³ Froemming, A. H.: "Personality Analysis by Introspection," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 1929, 12, pp. 119-121.

TABLE XI

THE FIRST THREE ANSWERS MOST FREQUENTLY GIVEN IN RESPONSE TO A SELF-ANALYSIS QUESTIONNAIRE
(FROEMMING, 1929)

<i>Question</i>	<i>Rank</i>	THE FIRST THREE ANSWERS MOST FREQUENTLY GIVEN		
		<i>High School</i>	<i>Grades VII & VIII</i>	<i>Grades V & VI</i>
Making a good worker	1	Be prompt	Be prompt	Give better service
	2	Learn to be thorough	Think when working	Be prompt
	3	Get more sleep and rest	Keep physically fit	Get more sleep and rest
Making a good thinker	1	Get more sleep and rest	Get more sleep and rest	Get more sleep
	2	Study more	Concentrate better	Study more
	3	Concentrate more	Do more reading	Do more reading
Causing wholesome feelings	1	Form better personal relationship with others	Be more cheerful	Be kind and friendly
	2	Have good friends	Be more charitable and helpful	Have a healthy body
	3	Do work well	Have good friends	Be more cheerful

individual growing into maturity should be so motivated that he is interested in possessing such traits as will aid in making more adequate adjustments to various life activities.

An introspective analysis can be made by listing some questions that pertain to specific character and personality qualities and having the subject make an inventory of himself on these questions. This gives a more objective approach than would merely asking the individual if he possessed this or that trait, without an analysis of the behavior activities that are obviously associated with such a trait. This is the basic principle in the method used in most of the paper-and-pencil tests referred to on page 199. However, the discussion here centers around specific habit patterns. Some of these patterns that have been studied by various investigators using the introspective analysis method are: study habits, use of time at home, thoroughness, promptness, cleanliness, trustworthiness, courage, initiative, manners, poise, loyalty, sociability, efficiency, accuracy, adaptability, various types of interests, etc. The following list of questions on perseverance, as used by Beauchamp,¹⁴ illustrates the use of such an analysis in the study of perseverance, persistence, determination, "stick-to-it-ive-ness":

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>
1. Do you make a continued effort to correct bad habits?.....
2. Do you stay on the job, even if it is uninteresting?.....

¹⁴ Beauchamp, W. L.: "A Self-inventory of Personality Traits," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 1929, 12, p. 33.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>
3. Do you continue your study until you thoroughly understand the topic under consideration?.....
4. If you have tried one method of performing a task which is not successful, do you keep on trying until you find a method which will work?
5. Do you take an active part on your team in spite of defeat?.....
6. Do you keep on trying even if others have become discouraged and quit?.....
7. If you have been absent do you try as hard as you can to make up the work missed?.....
8. Do you finish an assignment as well as you begin it?.....
9. Do you solve your own problems even though it might be easier to ask for help?.....
10. Do you persist in carrying on in the manner which you think is right even if others ridicule you?.....

The questionnaire.—This mode of approach is designed to get at crucial experiences and basic habits in the life of the individual by means of a list of questions. The personality tests discussed on the following page and the introspective analysis procedure involve in part the questionnaire technique. This method has its greatest value when used by a skilled examiner who studies the qualitative characteristics of the subject's responses. It is probably of greatest value in relation to clinical work.

Personality tests.—With the growing recognition of the nature and importance of personality in life's activities, tests—including those of intelligence—have been developed to measure personality objectively in some of its phases. It is not our purpose here to give a

history of these tests, nor shall we catalogue them. However, it is well to mention a few illustrative pencil-and-paper tests: (1) Pressey's X-O Test of Emotionality,¹⁵ (2) Freyd's Test of Introversion-Extroversion,¹⁶ (3) Otis' Test of Suggestibility,¹⁷ (4) Allport's Ascendancy-Submission Test,¹⁸ (5) Moss's Test of Social Intelligence,¹⁹ and (6) Bernreuter's Personality Inventory.²⁰ These, among many others, are being used rather widely in studies relative to personality.

These and similar tests have for some time been reputed as being generally more scientifically accurate because they depend less upon the personal element in judgment. Certain problems are set before the subject; his reactions are measured in terms of particular constants and are not determined by the subjective procedure of an experimenter. Since the validity of tests is definitely related to their reliability, and since reliability depends in a large measure on objectivity, there has incidentally been much interest in the subjective method of measuring character traits; most investigators working in this field realize the limitations of such a technique.

¹⁵ Pressey, S. L., and Chambers, O. R.: "First Revision of a Group Scale Designed for Investigating the Emotions, with Tentative Norms," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1920, 4, pp. 97-102.

¹⁶ Freyd, M.: "Introverts and Extroverts," *Psychological Review*, 1924, 31, pp. 74-87.

¹⁷ Otis, M.: "A Study of the Suggestibility of Children," *Archives of Psychology*, 1924, XI, 70, pp. 67-93.

¹⁸ Allport, G. W.: "A Test for Ascendancy-Submission," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1928, 23, pp. 118-136.

¹⁹ Moss, F. A., and Hunt, Thelma: "Ability to Get Along with Others," *Industrial Psychology*, 1926, 1, pp. 170-178.

²⁰ Bernreuter, R. G.: *The Personality Inventory*. Palo Alto, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1931.

Hollingsworth discusses fully the results of early inquiries in which the objective method was used. The amount of work now being done with the objective-test technique is evidenced in the yearly summaries of May and Hartshorne.²¹ Another helpful summary of these investigations is that by Sister M. Rosa McDonough.²² An examination of these summaries will give one both a better understanding of the methods used for the specific techniques and a further realization of the immensity of the task at hand.

The Question of Personality Types

After reviewing various concepts of individual differences insofar as they relate to differences in character and personality traits, we turn to the question of personality types. Among the variables in the traits taken from Dashiell are listed some with double names, such as "ascendance and submission" and "introversion and extroversion." Individuals cannot be divided into distinct classes respecting these specific types of traits, as can be noted from our review of the social development of the individual. Most individuals will show tendencies towards both ascendancy and submission; also, most individuals are ambiverts rather than, strictly, extroverts or introverts. Still another classification of personalities that has received a great deal

²¹ See May, M. A., and Hartshorne, H.: "Personality and Character Tests," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1926, 23, pp. 395-411; 1927, 24, pp. 418-435; 1928, 25, pp. 442-443; 1929, 26, pp. 418-444; 1930, 27, pp. 485-494; and "A Summary of the Work of Character Education Enquiry," *Religious Education*, 1930, 25, pp. 607-619, 754-762.

²² McDonough, Sister M. Rosa: "The Empirical Study of Character," *Studies in Psychology and Psychiatry*, 1929, 2, pp. 1-144.

of attention within recent years is that based upon the glands, and especially upon the endocrines. This lends itself to a multiplicity of combinations and thus a great number of personality types. But such a division of personalities into types, even if feasible, would involve much overlapping.

One will find various combinations of elements entering into the personality makeup of any particular individual. Tunney, the million-dollar prizefighter, shows an intense interest in scientific boxing, but also the somewhat opposed trait of delving into more abstract thinking on literary and philosophical topics. Notice the average college professor of today—he is an individual intensely interested in some sports and enjoying companionship and social participation, but he loves his work and enjoys retiring to his private study to investigate or think about problems that stimulate and fascinate him. Yet one must bear in mind that personality is the integration of these various traits into a special configuration.

A study of the various concepts about different types of personality will show that divisions have been made all through the ages. Normal individual differences in personality traits have been recognized and considered from the days of Cain and Abel through the period of the high state of learning of the Greeks to the beginning of modern psychology. The earliest-known division was astrological, based upon the heavenly bodies—one's personality was determined by the star under which he was born. Galen (150 A. D.) divided personality into four types: the sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, and melancholic. Although we need not define these types

here, it should be pointed out that Galen postulated a physiological basis for personality types which is in harmony in many respects with more modern conceptions based upon the ductless glands.²³

Carl Jung²⁴ proposed the terms *introversion* and *extroversion*, using them to apply to rather distinct and complementary personality types. Among traits classified as characteristic of the introvert are sensitiveness, self-consciousness, fondness for solitary activities, idealism in outlook, self-deprecation, lack of keen sense of humor, poor sportsmanship, reticence, moodiness, and the like. The traits opposite to these are characteristic of the extrovert.

Jung's general contention is that all people can be classified into one of these types. However, experimental studies have not supported this general division. As we have noted, individuals usually tend towards extroversion in some traits and introversion in others; and ascendancy and submission, as proposed by Allport, a similar general condition prevails. If personalities could be divided into types, we should get a bi-modal or tri-modal curve rather than the normal-probability curve; that is, individual types would be concentrated at two or three points on a baseline rather than clustered around a common average with the number becoming less frequent as we progress towards each extreme.

Sister M. Rosa McDonough recently attempted to classify personality according to will cheerfulness,

²³ See William Stern's general summary in the Appendix to his *Differenzielle Psychologie*.

²⁴ Jung, Carl G.: *Collected Papers on Analytic Psychology*. Moffat, Yard, 1917.

sociability, and uninhibited or sthenic-emotionality.²⁵ According to this division, types of character are thought of as various traits related to each other because of certain habit patterns which constitute necessary bonds. One can find evidence that such types exist, but as in other attempted divisions there is a great deal of overlapping. Individual variation in personality is continuous, and one will find every possible combination of traits consonant with the laws of learning and the general spread of a habit system. It is quite natural to find traits similar in nature going together. Various studies, some of which have been referred to, show that a positive relation exists between certain personality traits.

Thus, by measuring certain character traits somewhat unrelated to each other, but each closely related to a group of positive character and personality traits, one can make a good evaluation of the individual's personality. Ratings should be made on the basis of traits in which the overt behavior manifested has been observed by the raters. Those tests should be used that will give the most accurate results on traits unrelated but underlying the basic qualities of human nature. The last-named classification of personalities does point out, however, that:

Positing types as above does not commit one to position that every individual can be readily and correctly classified in one or other divisions. Extremes are easily recognizable, not so the majority who are mixtures in varying proportions.²⁶

²⁵ Sister M. Rosa McDonough: "The Empirical Study of Character," *Studies in Psychology and Psychiatry*, Catholic University of America, 1929, 2, No. 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

Thought Problems

1. What is meant by *socialization*, and how is this related to *social consciousness* as described in an earlier chapter?
2. What classifications of personality have you heard of? Do you see any real basis for such a classification?
3. If personality-test data are available for your use, study them and analyze some personalities according to them.
4. Make out a rating scale for some character traits, and use this in analyzing those character traits of someone. Do you find that your ratings agree with the ratings of others?
5. Make out a list of questions relative to some character quality and make an introspective analysis of yourself. Do you find that you possess this trait approximately as you had expected? What uses can be made of such a method?
6. What are the conditions under which one could procure a rather complete picture of personality? What are some of the major difficulties encountered in procuring such a picture?
7. What is meant by self-analysis? Make a self-analysis chart for study habits.
8. List in order of importance several uses of character and personality measurements.
9. Look up further studies of character and personality and see if their results harmonize with the results of the studies referred to in this chapter.

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CHAPTER XI

Personality (*Cont.*)

Some problems for study.—The last chapter was concerned primarily with the general nature of personality and with procedures used in evaluating personality traits. In this chapter some specific problems of the personality of maturing boys and girls will be discussed in the light of recent scientific findings.

The question of the influence of training on the growing personality is important as well as interesting to those interested in the personality of adolescents. To what extent is a good personality related to good habits, refined interests, kindly impulses, high intelligence, and congenial thinking? What is the nature of the personality of the gifted? Of the subnormal? How are social influences related to faulty personality traits? Whatever one seeks to have as his personality can be attained insofar as he can identify the various elements of such a personality and develop and fix them into his makeup by the sort of exercise that is necessary. Some traits are more subject to training than others—the various physical traits, for example, are probably less influenced by training. But certainly the influence of home environment, of the example of those for whom we early build up affection and in whom we establish abiding faith, of the conditions of our play and work, of our opportunities for education and refinement, along

with many other influences, are prominent factors in establishing habits that will make for a desirable or undesirable personality.

Contrasting phases of adolescent personality.—Some elements characteristic of the personality of adolescents tend to make the individual unstable in nature; these elements are here referred to as “contrasting phases.” The importance of the emotional elements in the development of personality has already been considered. Furthermore, it might be pointed out here that emotional habits are the important factors upon which we judge the personality of those closest and best known to us, these elements standing out much clearer in some than in other individuals.

During the adolescent period some specific emotional characteristics are outstanding. Many drives of an instinctive or biological nature are held in restraint during adolescence because of various customs and other forces present in man's environment, but these become quite pronounced in other phases of the individual's life. G. Stanley Hall recognized the importance of emotion in adolescent life, and in one of his writings says:¹ “Youth loves intense states of mind and is passionately fond of excitement.” Here we find a true and valid expression of the vitality and lassitude so characteristic of adolescents. The carefree individuals seeking joy and the company of others for the sake of excitement characterize their play, social interests, and activities. The true gang and team loyalty has already been described as characteristic of this age.

¹ Hall, G. S.: *Adolescence*, Vol. II, Chap. X.

Pleasure and pain are sometimes close together; tears and laughter may closely follow each other; elation and depression also are somewhat characteristic of this period of life. Egocentrism and sociability, ascendancy and submissiveness, selfishness and altruism, radicalism and conservatism, heightened ambitions and loss of interest: these tend to mark off this period of life as of contrasts in moods, which are manifested by a single individual in slightly different situations. These contrasting moods make it probably more difficult to predict an individual's behavior during adolescence than at any other single period. Individual reactions are more transitory and less stable than they are at later stages of life; different traits will predominate under slightly different conditions, and their changes are likely to be very marked. As the individual has more and more social experiences, his manners of reaction change and his personality characteristics are increasingly modified and made more stable.

Anyone who studies the problems of young people becomes familiar with these common manifestations of behavior. Here is an individual in whom habit patterns have not fully developed. Because of his lack of maturity, he is sometimes characterized as "flighty." His work in school is not altogether steady; his activities on the playground vary from time to time; his general attitude towards the school is often easily changed. Pride in dress is followed by extreme carelessness. While these particular sudden and extreme changes are the exception, the average adolescent has them to a degree. Bonner makes the following observation:

Today's enthusiasms may become matters of boredom before long. The desire one day may be to become a missionary, and e'er long this has been completely forgotten and the goal of life is to be a dancer. Many an adolescent has said, "I don't know what I want to be. One day I think I want to be one thing and the next day something else, only I want to be someone great."²

Turning to the cause of this changefulness, one again turns to the newly developed interests and broadened outlook of these boys and girls as they reach maturity and come into contact with social reality. These changes in outlook take place more rapidly than habit systems change, develop, and become integrated into a unified personality. We therefore find individuals not only with often inconsistent attitudes, beliefs, outlooks, and emotions, but also strikingly contrasting moods and attitudes towards situations or topics not wholly different in nature. Not all of these inconsistencies and contrasting phases of life are finally eliminated, but many are substantially eliminated as the personality becomes more and more integrated into a general schema.

Adolescent instability.—The adolescent is said to be impulsive and unstable in nature. Emotional expression, as we have seen, is largely a matter of habit, and from such habits develop behavior patterns characteristic of extroversion or introversion. As attested by the pointless giggling, impulsiveness, yelling, loud talking, and other symptoms of instability, extroversion usually appears to be more universal than introversion, which

² Bonner, A. F.: "Emotional Problems of Adolescence," *The Child's Emotions*, p. 220. Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1930.

is manifested in relation to new situations and intensified by newly forming habits of a social nature. Habits of introversion are especially in evidence in individuals who are reaching maturity with poorly developed social and emotional habits. With the awakened social consciousness, the new physiological nature, and the wider social contacts, there is naturally good reason for disturbances.

The instability of adolescence is especially marked by contrasting personalities, heightened emotional behavior, religious enthusiasm, and juvenile behavior problems. Just how truly such conditions are a result of training is quite evident as we observe so many adolescents of certain training who are socially well-adjusted, wholesome in attitude, courteous in manners, and stable in the exhibition of various habit systems. Far too many children, as they reach adolescence, are expected to assume the places of adults with only the training that would enable them to follow authority blindly. These individuals have not been given the opportunity for the development of habits of initiative and responsibility that are so essential in the ordinary pursuits of adult life; they are "too young" to do the things adults are doing, and are "too old" to act and play as children do. For many individuals this is therefore a period of bewilderment. If the individual desires to run and play the "kid-like" games, he is laughed at, and if he offers his advice and counsel too freely to the adult group, he is reminded that he is still a child. Probably most persons soon pass through this transition and are able to establish themselves and their place in the social order. Naturally, a sort of training that will

enable the individual to adjust his earlier habit patterns to those of the adult group will aid him to develop desirable social habits and attitudes. If the specific elements of the adolescent personality do not develop desirably, we should then search his past—or present—experience for the causes.

An analysis of needs and conditions of adolescence shows that the individual, though physically reaching the stage of maturity, is compelled to delay the natural expression of certain drives now coming to play a large part in his everyday activities. Civilization has made it necessary that the training period of life be lengthened, but human biological development still proceeds at the rate of earlier times. At adolescence the individual is not established as a stable member of society; his habit systems, as was pointed out earlier, are in a formative stage, and many of them are as yet unrelated and the process of generalization has not as yet carried over into broader social experience. His natural drives, which up to this period have found a greater freedom of outlet, are checked and modified by the great social organization in which he finds himself. Hence the generally confusing and conflicting situations to which he must adjust himself often lead to certain forms of instability. With the elimination of the thwartings, uncertainties, and conflicting tendencies, these near-abnormal forms of behavior will tend to disappear; a general unification of the vocational, avocational, social, moral, and sexual selves consequently results. Notably, emotional instability seems to involve not only physiological and psychological, but socio-economic, factors.

Emotional instability is often associated with achievement. The comments of Witty and Lehman relative to literary achievement are interesting in this connection:

In men of literary ability the direction of effort undoubtedly is determined in many instances by the nature and the intensity of the thwarting of fundamental drives. Literary production of an imaginative sort offers one intensely satisfying mode of substitute activity through which vicarious gratification is achieved and adjustment facilitated. Since the unstable person is more emotional and hence less able to endure thwarting than the normal individual, he is more often seriously disturbed and harassed by the inevitable thwarting which life brings. Consequently, ability plus nervous instability seem to furnish a propitious background for literary eminence, for when a capable but nevertheless unstable individual is thwarted he is likely to seek satisfyingness through an easily accessible and intensely satisfying channel, namely, imaginative writing. This is particularly true if the environment is such as to encourage literary endeavor.³

Despite the fact that this period of life is characterized by heightened emotional conditions, instability, excessive energy, and other such characteristics, there is no justification for the viewpoint that this period can be separated from all other periods of the child's life activities. These heightened emotional, mental, and temperamental conditions must be explained in terms of the physiological changes and social habits of the adolescent subject.

Personality traits of the gifted.—In the work of Terman⁴ and his collaborators we find sufficient experi-

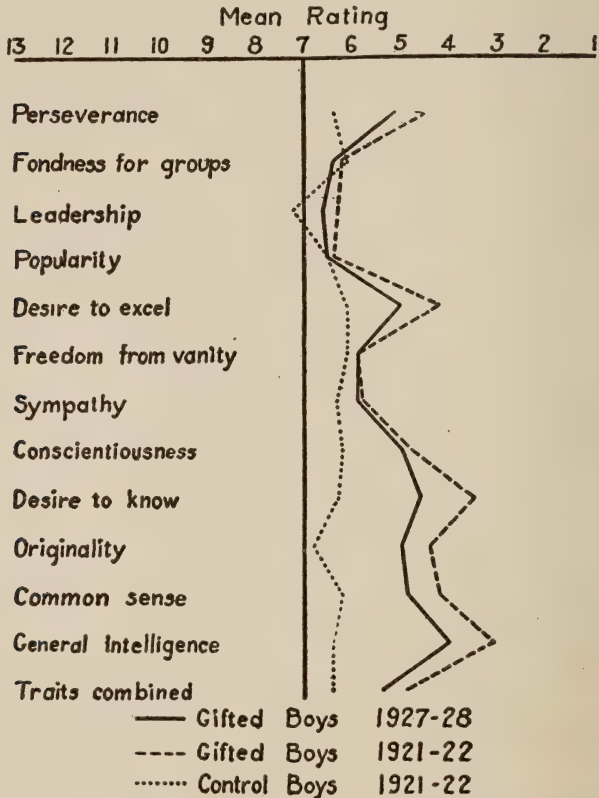
³ Witty, Paul A., and Lehman, H. C.: "Nervous Instability and Genius: Poetry and Fiction," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1929, 24, pp. 77-90.

⁴ Terman, L. M., et al.: *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. I (esp. Chaps. XIV, XVII, XVIII). Palo Alto, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1925.

mental evidence to indicate that intelligence precocity is not in any manner an indication by itself of an anti-social or negative or undesirable personality. While all of the data are not wholly objective—a fact which is recognized by Terman and his co-workers,—they are quite significant. There is a rather common notion that most geniuses are “freaks” or are unstable in nature: these opinions have been arrived at inductively from a few observations of some one or several particular geniuses who were more or less atypical, and thus all people of genius are adjudged as of a comparable type. These studies mentioned above show very clearly that if one attempts to make even a careful subjective analysis of evaluation of the personality traits of gifted children, these children will obtain personality ratings above the average for other children of the same general status. A still more careful analysis of this group of exceedingly gifted children reveals comparisons that are rather interesting and valuable in understanding better their personality traits.

In Terman's and his collaborators' study the question, “Is the child considered by others as ‘queer’ or ‘different’?” was answered by boys' teachers in the negative 95 per cent of the time for the control group and 88 per cent of the time for the superior, or 5 per cent *yes* for the control and 12 per cent *yes* for the superior. For the control and gifted groups of girls corresponding percentages were 95 and 93 for *no* and 5 and 7 for *yes*. If we take these answers as valid, we find a slightly larger per cent of gifted than of non-gifted individuals considered “queer,” but normality is dominant in the gifted group for both boys and girls. In the follow-up of

the reasons assigned for rating the gifted children as "queer" or "different," it was found about 50 per cent of the boys and 25 per cent of the girls had been so

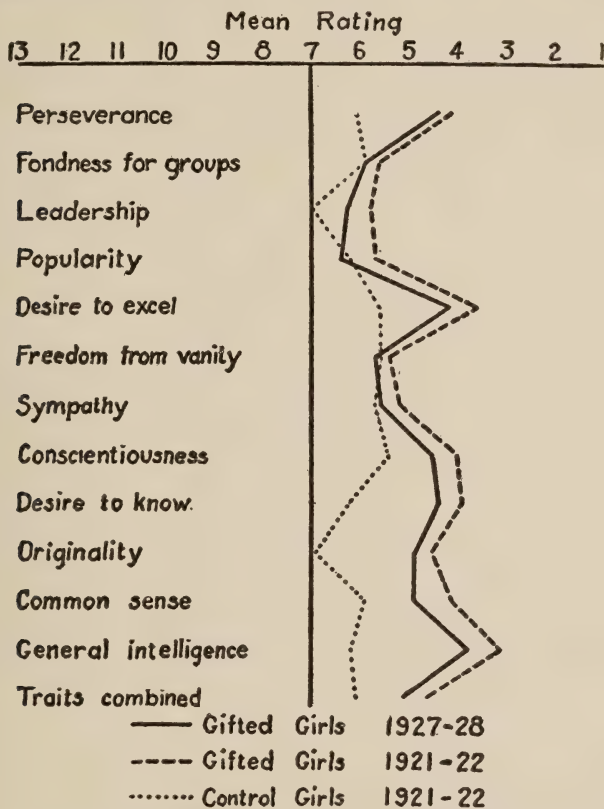


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Fig. 6.—Teachers' Rating of Boys on Twelve Traits (Terman, 1930).

judged because they were "brighter," "knew more," or "acted more mature." Such answers merely indicate that a large percentage of these gifted children were judged "queer" or "different" simply because they

possessed superior intelligence, rather than because of some deviated personality trait noticeable in strange or awkward behavior.



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Fig. 7.—Teachers' Rating of Girls on Twelve Traits (Terman, 1930).

Comparisons are presented in Figs. 6 and 7 in which teachers have rated various groups on a thirteen-point graphic-rating scale⁵ for 12 different traits. In these

⁵ On this scale 13 was the lowest (poorest rating); 1 was the highest (best).

figures the gifted group for 1927-28 comprises the same subjects as those rated in 1921-22. In order to say how far a gifted child excels the average child of his age in some specific character trait, one must compare his rating with those of the control group. Again, it is of especial interest to note that gifted children after a period of six years still maintain a rather distinct superiority over the control group in the traits "perseverance," "desire to excel," "conscientiousness," "originality," "desire to know," and "general intelligence."⁶ The general superiority of the gifted group is very similar for boys and girls, although this does not imply that gifted boys are more effeminate than the average—a rather widespread assumption. There is some evidence, not wholly scientific, that gifted boys and girls often have heightened interests of the same general type, especially in intellectual activities.

A recent study conducted under the supervision of the writer points to the same general conclusions as these and similar studies.⁷ Correlations were obtained between the combined ratings of 62 eighth-grade pupils in the Raleigh Public Schools by three teachers on the graphic rating scale and such measurements of higher mental ability as: average school grade for the year; sentence vocabulary-test results; and the Terman Group Intelligence Tests scores. Positive and reliable correlations ranging from $.46 \pm .08$ to $.73 \pm .06$ were found between the total of the combined teachers' ratings on the mental and activity traits and on tests of higher

⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. X.

⁷ Garrison, K. C., and Howell, Sue Craft: *Op. cit.*

mental ability. Correlations ranging from $.39 \pm .08$ to $.64 \pm .07$ were found between ratings on the social and temperament traits and the tests for higher mental ability.

Personality traits of the subnormal.—In Chapter III reference was made to the slower mental growth of the subnormal child, and it was pointed out that the correlations between mental and physical growth are positive although low. In the discussion of adolescent interests it was noted again that subnormal children showed very little interest in reading. It is well understood that intelligence is closely related to thinking and dealing with ideas, which results in a rational control of behavior activities. The lower the degree of intelligence, the greater are the forces of instinct and habit, purposive behavior involving reasoning and rational choice being in the main absent. Martz says of the education of backward children:

In a series of 432 consecutive admissions to Letchworth Village with I.Q.'s of 50 or more, 75 per cent were behavior problems as well as mentally deficient. In over one-half of these behavior cases, the children very largely corrected their own misconduct in from three months to a year through the medium of a less critical, more favorable environment. It is a well-known fact that undue strain or competition, as well as a feeling of insecurity, frequently induces carelessness and misconduct in children. . . .

Every special class should illustrate the old principle that a child be given what he needs and not what some one thinks he ought to need. The individualization of the case is certainly as necessary as ever, and our efforts must be turned strongly in that direction.⁸

⁸ Martz, E. W.: "Backward Children from the Point of View of a State School," *Mental Hygiene*, 1933, 17, p. 96.

What is a deviated personality?—When the child is referred to the school principal, to a habit clinic, or to other agencies for the general consideration and correction of behavior traits, we have proof at least that he appears to deviate from the normal in his personality traits. The deviated personality stands in general opposition to the normal personality. When the individual varies markedly from the established order in which he happens to be placed, he presents a case of personality deviation.

Each individual is a product of various forces, biological and social. In some cases and for some traits in particular, deviations in personality are due to faulty hereditary conditions; yet in the great majority of cases of deviations—and this is especially true if the behavior qualities are in the main involved—the social setting of an individual plays a large rôle as a causal factor. It is a well-recognized fact that neither inheritance nor environment tells the whole story, as has been emphasized throughout our study of the development and general characteristics of adolescent boys and girls. Some specific ratio cannot be given so that one can say “this amount is due to heredity” and “that amount to environment”—as has frequently been done. In many cases of personality deviation, the environment is almost wholly at fault, while in others there is an abundance of evidence that heredity is mainly at fault. Efforts have been made to ascribe all personality difficulties to defective intelligence, but it is well borne out by various studies that defective intelligence is only one phase of the story and that frequently persons of superior ability suffer from personality difficulties.

Faulty behavior patterns.—Undesirable behavior patterns should first of all be considered in terms of the growth of behavior units. We have noted that behavior units grow out of previous experiences and thus become habitual through use. Now behavior patterns are judged as desirable or undesirable in accordance with whether or not they are in agreement with the mores of the social group, and they can probably best be classified in two divisions. These are sometimes given as major or minor in nature, but if the individual is considered one will readily see that such a division is not a true one. In classifying undesirable behavior patterns probably the best distinction to use is that of the self and the group. Those in terms of the group may be considered antisocial, and include such activities as injury to others, stealing, lying, truancy, running away from home. Those of an individualistic nature are: excess temper tantrums, various idiosyncracies of an individualistic type, nervous habits, appetitive habits, and the like.

Studies will show, however, a great lack of uniformity in the judgment of the seriousness or undesirability of a particular form of behavior. Stogdill devised a scale consisting of 70 items of behavior ranging from an extreme introvertive type to an extreme extrovertive type; he then obtained ratings on a 1-to-10 point scale from 110 parents, 45 college students, and 50 authorities (mental hygienists) on the mental health of children. He found that parents and students agreed very closely in their ratings, and a rank-order correlation of .94 was obtained: parents and students ranked as most undesirable behavior that which was in violation of mores, social taboos, and authority or control. The mental

hygienists, on the contrary, were inclined to be more concerned over unsocial behavior as represented in introversion and instability. The rank-order correlation between mental hygienists and parents was .45, while a correlation of .58 was found with the order of the 45 college students. In classifying undesirable behavior in terms of the self and the group, mental hygienists regarded anti-individualistic tendencies as more seriously undesirable, and parents and students regarded antisocial tendencies as more serious.⁹

Wickman conducted a rather elaborate study of the attitudes of teachers towards the behavior problems of children. He had teachers rate the seriousness of various kinds of behavior, and then had a group of mental hygienists rate these same traits according to their significance. The most interesting finding here was the fact that teachers stress antagonism to words, authority, or lack of conformity in outer behavior activities, as the most seriously undesirable behavior. Again, he found the "halo effect" was likely to be very great, in that teachers were likely to carry over their judgment of one type of behavior in their estimates and prediction of other types. In this study it was found that mental hygienists favored and teachers usually disfavored aggressive forms of behavior. Notably, these findings are rather important to developing a mental-hygiene program for the school. Teachers should be trained to look for the causes underlying the

⁹ Stogdill, R. M.: *Attitudes of Parents and Mental Hygienists Toward Children's Behavior*. (Paper read before the American Psychological Association, Ithaca, New York, September 9, 1932.)

overt expressions of behavior disorders. In summarizing the teachers' attitudes, Wickman writes:

That attacking types of conduct are regarded by teachers as the most undesirable forms of behavior, while many unhealthy tendencies of withdrawal and dependency are not recognized as symptomatic of maladjustment.

That the usual treatment of behavior disorders in children is directed toward the undesirable behavior which is the symptom of maladjustment, instead of toward the underlying causes that produce the maladjustment.¹⁰

Somewhat in harmony with this we have the following recent utterance from Dr. Esther L. Richards:

It is in dealing with the temperamentally handicapped child that formal education shows the weakest side of its system. The sagging of child and adolescent in his school performance is too often treated as an ethical lapse of conduct instead of a symptom to be studied and interpreted.¹¹

With growth into adolescence occurs the first stage of the development of such habit systems as, when carried to an extreme, will bring the individual into direct conflict with the rules and regulations imposed by the social group. With the onset of such social conflicts we have a mental-hygiene case or a case of delinquency—a case of undesirable behavior, growing directly out of earlier failures in social adjustment. Earlier failures have many and varied causes depending upon the inherent qualities of the individual, the peculi-

¹⁰ Wickman, E. K.: "Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes," *The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications*, New York, 1928, p. 183.

¹¹ Richards, Esther L.: "What Is Dementia Præcox?" *The Journal of Pediatrics*, 1933, 2, p. 51.

arities in the situation, and the habit systems established earlier in life. Moreover, since their growth is gradual and continuous, habit patterns tend to become integrated into larger units, thus creating a specific type of disposition or attitude. It is therefore difficult to say at just what point in the life of the adolescent the wrong elements developed and became integrated into larger units.

Faulty behavior may be one of the means for the expenditure of energy along the line of some old, established habit patterns; it may be the result of certain elements in the present situation and the present condition of the individual concerned; or, from many other factors of earlier life activities may evolve associations that are at work influencing certain forms of antisocial behavior. A careful study at the points at which socialization breaks down will show that the family, play life, and school each exert a powerful influence on the adolescent. Poor training in discipline, improper or inadequate outlets, broken homes, or lack of harmony with parents, are all important factors in abetting the failure of the socialization process. Scientific studies show that, next to the home, companions are the most important factor in this connection. Wang concludes from his studies of 358 men and 203 women undergraduates at Chicago University, in which the Freyd test of introversion-extroversion was used, that among other observable traits:

Significant for introversion may be mentioned such items as having few playmates as a child, indulging in few social amusements, participating rarely in games at school, and having few or no friends. For extraversion: having many playmates,

participating in games at every opportunity, and being admired by associates.¹²

The home and neighborhood influence the socialization process for good or bad, as do the school and all other institutions. These points will be discussed further in relation to anti-individualistic tendencies, in Chapters XII and XIII, and in relation to antisocial tendencies, in Chapters XIV and XV.

Summary.—The adolescent personality has been referred to as carefree, yet capable of accepting responsibility. There is a need for training in *initiative* and *responsibility* if they are to become active participants in the social group. The personality of the gifted, as to desirable mental traits especially, is superior to that of the average. The play life of the gifted shows the same versatility of interests as that of the average child. The subnormal child is characterized by his inability to accept responsibility, by his poor adjustment in the ordinary school program, and by his inability to plan, to understand, and to apply knowledge to related fields. Deviated personalities begin to be observed to a large degree as the individual makes wider social contacts; the adolescent's physiological development, new contacts, heightened emotions, and enlarged mental life create a new self, and this new self seeks an expression which needs sympathetic guidance if it is to develop along desirable lines. Extreme introversion and daydreaming or antisocial tendencies are quite likely to arise when there is a failure in the socialization process.

¹² Wang, Charles K. A.: "The Significance of Early Personal History for Certain Personality Traits," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1932, 44, p. 774.

Thought Problems

1. Discuss the problem of the contrasting phases of adolescents' behavior. Can you cite instances of these?
2. Which of Dashiell's list of personality traits (see preceding chapter) seem to present the greatest problem during adolescence? Give the reason for your answer.
3. List some common misconceptions relative to the personality traits of gifted children. According to Terman's study, what are the outstanding personality traits of the gifted? From your own experiences can you cite cases that support these findings?
4. What is meant by "the individualization of the case" as referred to in the quotation from Martz? How is this often done in the Hi-Y Club, or some other such organization? What are some methods of doing this in the case of school tasks?
5. Distinguish between a special ability as an innate factor and as a result of experiences?
6. Give illustrations differentiating antisocial and anti-individualistic behavior.
7. To what would you attribute the wide difference in attitude, existing between mental-hygiene workers and teachers, towards problem individuals? Which of these attitudes is most commonly found? Why?

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CHAPTER XII

Mental Disturbances of Adolescents

Significance of mental disorders.—Statistical surveys reveal a constant increase of mental illness, and observations of the increasingly complex social situations that heighten environmental tension and pressure suggest that the objectives of proper mental adjustment are becoming of far greater significance than ever before. The yearly crop of “nervous breakdowns” among our young people who have barely passed beyond the adolescent period, the number of twisted and neurotic individuals who give way immediately when faced with a crisis, and the great increase of crime (described in Chapter XIV) have attracted the attention of foresighted educational workers.¹

Emotional disorders, mental deviations in relation to mental content and its organization, and social maladjustments are especially prevalent during the formative years: (1) when certain original impulses are ripening and becoming conditioned, thus functioning in creating tensions and desires as never before; (2) when social interests in members of the opposite sex are being developed, involving a sort of psychic sexual conditioning; and (3) when there are many and varied forces at work affecting the inner life of adolescents, and especially

¹ Pratt, George K.: “Twenty Years of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene,” Reprint from *Mental Hygiene*, 1930, 14, pp. 399–428.

forces relating to his social development that are constantly present either in actuality or in imaginative life.

Probably no period in human life is as fraught with the danger of the development of mental abnormalities as the period of adolescence. Also, probably no period in human life is as fraught with dangers of social maladjustments resulting from already existent mental abnormalities. *Any period in life in which there is an undue physiological, social, or emotional stress for which the individual is not prepared is a period at which mental abnormalities may and do appear, or at which those already in existence become more socially significant.* A review of the various concepts of different students of psychology concerning the nature and amount of abnormalities present during adolescence will reveal much divergence, but practically all agree that there are many urges present, and that these are manifested in many different ways. In a study of mental disturbances the epigenetic viewpoint is accepted, according to which mental disturbances cannot be explained wholly on the basis of physical maturity or of social stimulation. One can ignore the forces of heredity neither as manifested in the expression of energy and in certain biological equipment, nor as guided and directed by various socializing agencies.

General classification.—There are three important periods of anatomical change in human existence, each of which is correlated with changes in physiological functioning: *adolescence*, *involution*, and *senility*. And it is significant to note that there are three types of psychoses which cluster around these life stages, namely, *dementia præcox* or schizophrenia, *dementia presenilis*

or involution melancholia, and *senile dementia*. Church and Peterson say:

While individuals are liable to mental aberration at any age, yet there are particular periods of life characterized by special vulnerability. In general, it may be said that this vulnerability is greatest in women between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, and in men between twenty and fifty, for it is at middle age that we find the maximum accumulation of etiological factors. But there are physiological epochs that influence markedly the line of psychic morbidity, and these are the periods of puberty and adolescence (fourteen to twenty years), that of genital involution in women (forty-five) and that of senile involution (sixty to seventy years).²

In the present discussion of personality disorders we shall make a brief non-technical analysis of some of the more prominent minor and major disturbances occasionally present during adolescence. The two main groups into which mental abnormalities fall are those of *amentias* and *instabilities*. The instabilities are further divided into minor and major disturbances, various classifications having been presented from time to time.

Amentia does not make its appearance at or about the adolescent age, but on the contrary may be noticed in some forms many years prior. It is *retardation of mental growth or development*. Instabilities, however, are *retrogressive mental changes*; they may be latently present, but do not make their appearance until some time after birth. Retrogressive mental changes are pathological conditions that render the individual incapable of utiliz-

² Church, Archibald, and Peterson, Frederick: *Nervous and Mental Diseases* (sixth ed.), p. 700. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1909.

ing fully the ability with which nature has endowed him, and which he has developed, at least in part, before the mental disorder makes its appearance. Amentia and instabilities are clinically distinct and socially different in their manifestations.

Amentia in Adolescence

If we are to understand the cause of any given mental abnormality we must know the particular type of abnormality with which we are concerned, because, without question, the causative background of mental abnormalities varies like the type. Let us consider amentia first. Too frequently conclusions as to the hereditary nature of amentias are drawn from such studies as of the Kallikaks, the Jukes, and similar families. The diagnosis in all such studies is more or less indefinite and subjective; the data are too inaccurate for definite conclusions, although they are sufficient to show that low grade intelligence is surely associated with inferior intellectual and social levels. Most of the investigators here worked under the assumption that these families were inferior in mental ability and that the inferiority might be traced to an original biological inferiority. At best, about all that can be concluded from an analysis of these family histories is that social inferiority was present both vertically and horizontally in the families and that it is probably safe to assume the existence of a certain positive relationship, imperfect though it may be, between social inferiority and inferiority in intelligence. These family histories do suggest also that genius is not likely to arise in families showing much general inferiority, and that inferiority of some

type occurs in them with greater frequency than in ordinary family groups.

In harmony with this view Patterson and Rundquist found in a study of 823 admissions and 516 applicants for admission ("waiting list") to the Minnesota School for Feeble-minded at Faribault that, "The fathers of feeble-minded persons committed to a state school come almost solely from the skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled labor groups."³ Indeed, the most significant available data on the cause and extent of amentia are those data taken from such surveys of institutions and clinical records.

Of course, when these records show—as they often do—that several children in one family are mentally deficient, and a general interview or examination of the mother and father reveals a parental feeble-mindedness, one is almost forced to an explanation on the basis of the hereditary factor. Recently the writer was called to study the intelligence of three children in the same family, whose ages were approximately eight, ten, and twelve. Neither of these children had been able to do anything with his school work; the oldest child was in the third grade, but was unable to read as well as the average child completing the first grade. The I.Q.'s of these children as found by the Stanford Revision of the Binet Tests were 58, 47, and 51, respectively. Information from a teacher acquainted with the parents, and an interview with the father, revealed a demented parentage. Such situations are commonly found by

³ Paterson, D. G., and Rundquist, E. A.: "The Occupational Background of Feeble-Mindedness," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1933, 45, p. 124.

those engaged in clinical work in connection with schools and other institutions. It is probably safe to assume that from 75 to 90 per cent of feeble-mindedness is a result of the hereditary factor.

When one begins studying the laws of heredity and finds variations occurring, conditions sometimes arise that become rather hard thus to explain. According to the Mendelian law, which is probably in harmony with the observation of Galton in his formulation of the law of ancestral inheritance, traits are passed on from generation to generation, affecting this generation but probably not the next—depending, of course, upon the chance combination of genes plus the combination of parental traits. It appears further that germinal defects are quite often passed on in some such manner. However, we are primarily interested in amentia in our discussion here, and it appears safe to say that most amentia is a result of inheritance. Unfortunately we do not know enough about the exact nature of the combination of genes at the time of fertilization, or the development of the embryo, or the growth of the foetus, to account for the variations among mental defectives.

Distinct from these intrinsic or inherited amentias, from 10 to 25 per cent of cases of amentia are undoubtedly of extrinsic, secondary, acquired, or environmental origin: they cannot be accounted for on the basis of inheritance. No attempt will be made here to analyze any of the causal elements in this group; but we may point out that there are many possible environmental causes, such as germ plasmic injury, toxins, foetal injury, natal care, early diet, glandular conditions, and so forth.

In this connection it is rather important to note that among the three intelligence grades of aments—the *idiot*, *imbecile*, and *moron*—only the moron as a definite type assumes actual social significance. This is so principally because morons are far more numerous than other defectives. The idiot is of such low or inferior development that it is usually impossible for him to assume any place of his own in an established social order: whether male or female, he will likely be so unkempt, untidy, and unwholesome in appearance and actions that he will be socially repulsive. The imbecile is more of a social threat as he reaches maturity than is the idiot, but even imbecile girls are usually not attractive enough to become a significant social threat. The boys, however, in covering a wider geographical range in their social activities, fall prey more readily to unscrupulous individuals who lead them into antisocial forms of behavior. (Which probably accounts for the relative prevalence of crime among boys, as shown in Table XVI, and the predominance of imbecile males in institutions for the feeble-minded.) On the whole, the moron himself is likely to be more socially capable, to have more social desires and dislikes, more social impulses, more physical attractiveness, more linguistic ability; but he is likely to have little ability to inhibit undesirable responses. Although students disagree as to the exact mental age which sets off the moron from the normal, all students of abnormal and genetic psychology recognize the large number of borderline cases and also the fact that a mental age of below twelve indicates mental deficiency.

We have stated that adolescence is a period of especial social significance in the life of the moron. We may

take as an illustration the case of a mentally inferior boy that came to the writer's attention.

John, who was fourteen years and ten months old, well-developed physically and of a mental age between nine and ten years, was out playing with a group of boys—most of whom were younger than himself. In response to the suggestion of an older leader, the group decided to visit a neighboring town. None of them had a conveyance, so it was suggested that someone slip (steal) an automobile, which could be returned before it was missed. John then said that he knew where a Ford automobile was parked every day, and that he could drive an automobile. At once the crowd went to a point not far distant from where the car was parked, and there waited. However, because of his lack of foresight and his clumsiness, John was suspected by a passer-by, who thereupon reported to a nearby policeman. Thus John was caught and arrested, later to be convicted and sentenced. When asked why he took the car, he said, "The boys wanted the car to go to —, and I thought I would get this one."

In this case a group stimulus acted upon an organism in which inhibitions were, in the main, lacking. (*S.O.R.*) The mere group suggestion is often a stimulus sufficient to lead an individual of such mental capacity as John's to almost any kind of undesirable act.

To recapitulate: there is nothing inherent in amentia that renders adolescence unduly significant in an individual's life. Yet if the ament, particularly the moron, is not shielded from the antisocial stimuli around him, if he is not warned of pitfalls and guided around them, he will fall a thoughtless victim to unfavorable influences and develop antisocial habits and negative tendencies—or at least manifest characteristics that are socially not desirable. An adolescent moron needs sympathetic

though positive guidance, and personal understanding, if he is to avoid an impulsive life with its resultant unhappiness.

Minor Disturbances

Disintegrating conditions.—In Chapter IX we discussed the problem of moral and religious growth, emphasis being laid upon the value of the volitional element and on the fact that will power is usually rather strong in the adolescent. Will power actually is closely related to man's rational life, and during the adolescent age the emotions are powerful and often rather unstable: hence an antithetical condition exists in which the heightened emotional life obtains beside a rather strong will power built upon certain earlier egocentric tendencies. And emotion—which has been defined in terms of "a general stirred-up condition"—is a very important disintegrative force, so that any unhealthy emotional development may cause a disintegration of the individual's personality.

A lack of emotional control, which is usually exhibited in one's temper, is an unhealthy condition resulting from disintegrating influences of early childhood. The child rather early established habits of controlling those with whom he came into contact by means of temper tantrums. With the onset of adolescence and wider social contacts, these habits constitute a baffling social problem for the person concerned and have to be very much modified. Jealousy is another trait that becomes socialized with adolescence—although the spoiled child will have his difficulties. Other emotional manifestations of the higher order are referred to in Chapter IV.

Needless to say, one can observe here very clearly the results of the earlier operation of the conditioning process in the emotional life of man; thus disintegrated behavior is largely a matter of emotional control rather than of volitional control. Clearly, habits connected with the development of will power are not established in such a way that the individual is able to control his emotional reactions.

Adolescent fears.—We have seen that the conditioned emotions, especially those of fear and anger, are very important disintegrating forces in the personality of adolescents. It is said by some that anger leads towards penal institutions, while fear leads towards mental hospitals. A little observation and study will reveal that there is a vast amount of truth in such an assertion.

Fear has been found to be a very important factor in relation to health, and health itself is a very good preventive against personality disorders. From a mental-hygiene standpoint, fear is of the utmost importance. The inherent causes of fear today are rather few in comparison with the fears commonly expressed. Fear is the basic element in worry: the individual has a fear concerning the outcome of some events or relations, and it appears that he has very little control over it. Fears are manifested especially concerning problems of health, working conditions, social disapproval, effects of other individuals' behavior, and the outcome of some great event. Fears of well-nigh harmless things are quite prevalent among adolescents, and are reflected in their altruism, conversions, sentimentality, pessimism and optimism, and ambitious schemes for saving a lost situation.

It has already been suggested that practically all the fear and anger responses of children are learned and are acquired primarily through a conditioning process by a repeated or an intense association with specific emotional stimuli. The greater seriousness of heightened fear habits lies in the fact that they are quite likely to last throughout life. Socializing forces do not operate to recondition fear responses so much as anger responses; for in the latter is involved activity that leads to anti-social behavior, while in the former the response is likely to be anti-individualistic. Fear itself is perhaps the greatest suffering of childhood; moreover, an analysis of the fears of adolescents will show how early fears persist and how, in relation to social stimuli, they may become still more intense.

"Inferiority complex."—Probably the most widely discussed disintegrated condition resulting from emotional stimuli is that of the "inferiority complex." Adler⁴ has pointed out rather clearly that any physical or mental disorder constantly called to the attention of the growing child will likely develop in him a sense of inferiority, and that with the advent of adolescence and near-maturity the individual becomes socially conscious of any defects that might in any way interfere with his social adjustments. Inability to make the grade in school, to make friends, to compete successfully in various athletic and other pursuits, are conditions that lead to the development of a sense of inferiority. However, although this condition may be more or less

⁴ Adler, A.: "Individual Psychology," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1927, 22, pp. 116-122.

universal, one should not attempt to explain all maladjustments as a result of conflict. An analysis of various individuals afflicted with an inferiority complex will reveal that, through the use of disguised masks in the form of compensation, some succeed for the same reason as others fail; this success or failure depending in a large manner upon the general ability or abilities of the subjects concerned. The individual will try first one method of adjusting to the situation, then another, and if all fail, an anti-individualistic personality will likely result.

Conflicts.—Conflicts involve those transitory conditions that appear especially during adolescence to perturb the individual. As has been emphasized throughout our discussion, the adolescent feels, probably without justification, that he is misunderstood. And this feeling gives rise to a conflict between that which appears logical to the adolescent and that which appears logical to his adult supervisors. Ordinarily such conditions are not settled by parents or teachers; they are simply ruled on or acted on: and this causes the adolescent to be disturbed. As was pointed out in connection with mental growth, the adolescent is reaching the stage of mental maturity; but a general lack of knowledge makes him unable to understand and thus overcome conflicting situations. Maturity of intelligence is rather new for him, he has not developed habits of thought in harmony with adult ways of doing things; but he must reach forth into the adult world of thinking and behaving. He has not as yet felt the keen “censor” of the social group or public opinion except in a very simple form, as in the “yes” and “no” of the parents and in the simple socializing activities of play life. Often during this period the

adolescent gets many bumps and bruises, but through a trial-and-error process he finally comes through, molded in most cases as the adults want him to be molded. The great danger lies in the development of minor and possibly major pathological conditions as a result of social and environmental obstacles that are placed in his path.

Experiments with unicellular animals⁵ as well as with higher forms of life show that when living organisms are faced with new situations, and there is no single ready-made pattern of reaction present, random movements or trial-and-error behavior will be resorted to in an attempt to overcome the difficulty. Dispositions, both learned and unlearned, are constantly present, calling for further adjustment. Hunger, jealousy, desire for prestige, desire for attention, desire for clothes, are all examples of dispositions commonly thwarted.

Because of the changing world in which the adolescent finds himself, it is inevitable that many emotional conflicts should occur. His adjustment to most of these is usually made without difficulty, but a situation occasionally develops which causes serious disturbance in his behavior. The writer has in mind the case of a girl who had been reared by a mother with the best of intentions, but one who shielded her from all thoughts and activities that would in any way give her any information relative to sex and life's processes. As this girl reached the period of pubescence, she was faced with new problems relative to herself. She was unable to understand the changes that were taking place in her. She

⁵ Jennings, H. S.: *Op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

had been, as already indicated, under the tutelage of a rather strict mother; she thus began to wonder whether she had not in some way departed from the right reverend teachings set forth by both the words and general attitude of the mother. She dared not tell her mother, for she was afraid that she would be held accountable for some act that was responsible for her growth into puberty. Her manner became more reticent, her conduct more submissive; she changed so much that the mother recognized that she was not herself, and accordingly talked to her about her general health. This, of course, merely aggravated the case. The girl was finally taken to the family physician—a rather “noble and wise sir.” And he, after a careful examination and consultation with the girl, was led to realize that she had no organic disturbance, even though he did not come to a full realization of the difficulty. However, the trouble was sufficiently clarified so that the girl knew there was nothing wrong with her, that recent changes in her life were normal. This, in itself, prepared her for a better understanding of herself, and prepared her to gather further information that she should have known some time before.

Such individuals are potential neurotics, and are furthermore especially characterized by a great impressionability. This impressionability is not infrequently due to early experiences around the home or on the playground, when a shut-in, self-centered type of personality is in the making. The individual, instead of having built up a normal manner of free expression, has built up habits of inhibition, or compensation, or disguised masks, in an attempt to adjust to changed situations.

The extent to which deficient mental ability, abnormal neural patterns, abnormal or deficient glandular functioning, or deficient sensory structures are basic elements that contribute to the development of a psychoneurotic condition, however, is a controversial problem. It appears quite likely that unfavorable environmental conditions are quite often associated with such physical conditions; thus it appears furthermore that one tends to supplement the other in its general effects.

Efforts to adjust primitive nature to the present social order have in many cases not met with a great deal of success. Compensating mechanisms have been established, but these have aided only in partially overcoming the painful difficulty. The manias, and especially the kleptomanias and mythomanias, are remarkably illustrative of psychoneurotic personalities. The writer is acquainted with a certain junior-college girl twenty years of age who is apparently afflicted with mythomania. On one occasion, after a visit home, she came into the dean's office to tell of a delightful trip that she had had to the city of —, where she met friends *A, B, C, D*, etc., who were extremely nice to her. Her description was rather clear and well-organized. However, the Dean by chance mentioned this "visit" to the girl's parents, and learned that it was all make-believe. This sort of behavior is characteristic of this girl. On the Bernreuter Personality Inventory Scale, incidentally, she made a score which indicated her extreme introversion and neurotic tendencies.

The individual who is reared in a wholesome, normal environment, who is not the constant victim of futile

social conventions and taboos, and who is neither unduly petted and pampered nor driven to constant emotional exaltations by the whims and whines of those in authority, will most likely adjust himself to the new conditions of adolescence. He will have developed such mental and emotional patterns of behavior that adjustments to the complexities of life are made without his having to recondition or modify to any great degree previously established habit patterns.

Major Disturbances

Psychopathy.—The estimation of emotional control or stability is receiving much attention today because of its close relationship to problems of conduct. Especially is this important, as will be shown in Chapter XIV, in relation to certain types of juvenile crime. Antisocial behavior is probably more often the result of lack of emotional control than lack of intelligence. As a special pattern, antisocial behavior has come to be denoted by the word *psychopathy*.

It is known that young children have little emotional control. Their emotions vacillate rather suddenly, weeping and laughter being almost in juxtaposition. Outbursts of anger followed by affection are common. Psychopathies usually make their appearance prior to adolescence, but with increased glandular development and the enlargement of the individual's social and emotional life, these symptoms become more pronounced. Thus psychopathy is sometimes rather definitely identified with the adolescent period, which is particularly significant, therefore, because it is a period of social

contacts, social intercourse, heightened emotional stimulation, and increased physiological changes. This, then, might be considered a developmental period for psychopathic symptoms. The onset of adolescence necessitates guidance, enlightenment, and understanding in order that this morbidity leading to psychopathy may not develop.

Psychopathy is seen in a variety of behavior reactions. In fact it is one of the terms used in abnormal psychology that covers a number of ills. Mateer says of it:

A psychopath is a psychopath simply because his intelligence functions wrongly. The only way such wrong function can show is in his behavior, that is, in both what he does and what he says. It is the observation of these as symptoms that enables us to classify him tentatively as a deviate.⁶

Some psychopathic individuals are rather pitiful creatures because they are often wholly out of sympathy with their own behavior and at the same time incapable of controlling it. No scientific proof exists that would indicate whether or not there is some specific endocrinological basis for the troubles of, say, sexual psychopathics; but certainly it appears logical to assume that the trouble is a result of hypersecretion of the sex glands. The fact is, there is a great deal of logical evidence that psychopaths suffer from a glandular rather than neural disturbance. Some psychopaths do not take on any particular behavior peculiarity other than that of incidental nervous disturbances, and probably are best designated as

⁶ Mateer, Florence: *The Unstable Child*, p. 167. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1924.

unstable: poor motor control, facial and bodily twitching, sleeplessness, and other more or less spasmodic movements or nervous troubles especially characterize them. The behavior of psychopaths is hard to predict: for their attention vacillates, and they are often victimized by their emotions.

Among other forms of behavior reactions that appear in certain psychopaths are kleptomania and pathological lying. Kleptomania involves an inability to distinguish and observe property rights, the individual not hesitating to appropriate the property of others and to hold it. Pathological lying is a condition marked by an apparent inability to distinguish between reality and non-reality, between fact and fiction: the individual does not appear to realize the inconsistency of his own inaccurate verbal responses. Most kleptomaniacs and pathological liars may be classified as psychoneurotic subjects. Notably, the psychopathic group includes many serious antisocial cases.

Dementia præcox or schizophrenia.—In times past, dementia præcox has been referred to as adolescent insanity. The latter term, however, has been dropped practically altogether in recent years. Although most investigators are agreed that dementia præcox is quite prevalent during the adolescent years, many investigators make steadfast claims that it is in no way limited in its appearance to that period.⁷ Furthermore, studies by various psychiatrists do not agree very closely as to the

⁷ May, J. V.: *Mental Diseases*, pp. 458-460. Strecker, E. A., and Ebaugh, F. G.: *Clinical Psychiatry*, p. 219. Stoddart, W. H. B.: *Mind and Its Disorders*, p. 317.

cause or prevalence of dementia præcox. Just a short time ago it was estimated by Hoskins⁸ that there were 140,000 cases of dementia præcox in mental hospitals in the United States, and of course there are many cases not thus confined. The estimation of the cost of care for these cases runs to over a million dollars a day.

It makes little difference whose classification is taken: the fact remains that on any basis many dementia præcox cases make their appearance during the adolescent years. There is also the possibility that many cases which are identified as such later, are actually præcox cases whose onset came during adolescence, the rate of deterioration having been so slow as to render the mental disorder imperceptible in most social situations for the succeeding few years. Again, Heller⁹ claims that many adolescents during puberty show symptoms which resemble very closely those of schizophrenia, and when these are distorted the individual develops a schizoid personality. Thus, he maintains that an abnormal puberty does not preclude an abnormal adult personality.

As we review the symptoms of dementia præcox we find early in the disorder apparent abnormalities in the emotional life. The conditions that were once grief-provoking are probably no longer grief-provoking, and those that were once the cause of joy may even be the cause of sorrow. In many instances the emotional life will be marked by neither joy nor sorrow, but by a

⁸ Hoskins, R. G.: "An Analysis of the Schizophrenia Problem from the Standpoint of the Investigator," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1931, 97, p. 682.

⁹ Heller, T.: "Über dissoziale ausartung jugendlicher," *Vjsch. f. Jugendk.*, 1931, 1, pp. 234-247.

definite or extreme emotional apathy. In any case, there is an emotional split of such a type as is best described by Gulick¹⁰ in his statement that "the emotions and intellect lost companionship." But, in addition to emotional abnormalities, one finds an apparent loss of intellectual interest which may have existed prior to the onset of the abnormality. The child may have been an excellent student through the primary, elementary, and early secondary-school years only to begin to show indifference towards his work, mental sluggishness, and finally a complete inability to cope with the scholastic situation.

In addition to the two characteristics just mentioned in connection with the *præcox*—that is, emotional and intellectual divorce, combined with intellectual sluggishness and emotional apathy—there is a third outstanding characteristic, *deterioration*. As a matter of fact, if the term *dementia præcox* is in any way appropriate—if the word *dementia* is properly used—we must expect the deterioration that we find in the vast majority of *præcox* cases; in cases such as have been described by some, in which no deterioration was noted, it is at least questionable as to whether the diagnoses as *dementia præcox* were correct. The average life of an individual with *dementia præcox*, after the onset, does not usually extend beyond 15 to 17 years. There are cases, however, in which the deterioration is much more rapid and the individuals expire after a year, a year and a half, or two years. Such cases are seldom recognized and diagnosed

¹⁰ Gulick, W. V.: *Mental Diseases*, p. 42. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1918.

as præcox, although if they fall under the observation of a competent psychiatrist they may be so recognized.

The following case of a fourteen-year-old girl in the second year of high school is given by Strecker and Ebaugh:¹¹

Referred to Out-Patient Clinic with statements from her teacher that she was continually day-dreaming and thinking people talked about her and was unable to get along with her classmates. She had been getting worse the last three months. Examination in the Clinic revealed the following: Patient was very sensitive and talked with difficulty about her preoccupation. She admitted feeling inferior to the other members of the class and thought that they talked about her to annoy her. She also imagined that the teachers had taken a dislike to her; one teacher especially being against her and giving her a "raw deal" concerning her examination marks. This trouble started six months ago and has been gradually getting worse.

Some miscellaneous forms of psychoses.—Outside of presenile dementia and senile dementia, probably every other known form of dementia may appear during adolescence. However, the morbidity to some forms of disorders is greater than that to others. We shall not catalogue all the disorders that occasionally occur during this period, but rather discuss some of the more prevalent forms common to this age of life. Neither is it the purpose of the writer to go into an elaborate discussion of any one form; it is desired rather to give the reader a

¹¹ Strecker, Edward A., and Ebaugh, Franklin G.: *Practical Clinical Psychiatry* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Son & Co. (Quoted from Gardner Murphy's, *An Outline of Abnormal Psychology*, p. 85. New York: Modern Library, 1929).

better understanding of some manifestations that are of a rather frequent occurrence during adolescence.

Disorders have been classified by some writers as either organic or functional. Some forms of functional disorders, as dementia præcox, appear as major disturbing forces in the individual's life. Another disorder for which there is no demonstrable pathology is the manic-depressive.

Manic-depressive insanity.—At any period of stress in an individual's life manic-depressive insanity may occur, at least in elementary form. In the mania, excitement, increased imaginative and perceptual experiences, increased physical vigor, and an alert and responsive mental and emotional life are characteristic; and there is likely to be, also, an increase of the metabolic rate. In the manic phase of this disturbance the patient may be the popularly imagined wildly active insane person, if his case is extreme. He may veer suddenly from joy to sorrow, from rage to fear—from any emotional extreme to another. Needless to say, all degrees of this insanity exist.

The depressive phase of this condition, as suggested by its name, is marked by opposite symptoms; it usually follows the manic phase, the subject often becoming immobile and sorrowful, apparently grieving his life away over some imaginary trouble. It is in such behavior that he is able to make a sort of adjustment to the difficulties of life. Notably, since adolescence is a period of stress and strain, of new contacts and new impulses, it is fraught with dangerous possibilities, although typical manic-depressive cases are infrequent at this stage of life.

Paranoia.—True paranoia is practically never seen in an adolescent, but many adolescents have paranoid trends. These are most often seen in adolescent boys and girls whose parental contacts are very stringent and who are not given an opportunity for full expression of the expanding self. These adolescents develop delusions of persecution and believe that they are getting a “raw deal.” They feel that the world is against them and become very suspicious of the motives of others. Such delusions will occasionally make their appearance even in childhood, though ordinarily they do not come about until the postadolescent stage. It is probably safe to say that wherever the paranoid delusion is to be found, one can class it in the nature of a compensation for some physical or mental inferiority. Thus the line that one would draw between a rather universal behavior act of compensation and a delusion becomes an arbitrary one. The paranoiac may have not only delusions of persecution, but may also develop delusions of grandeur. In fact, some psychiatrists believe that the persecutory delusions are but parts of a general delusion of expansion which, of course, is compensatory in nature. Among other specific types of paranoid delusions are religious delusions, inventive delusions, delusions of physical vigor, and the like. Once a thorough, complete, well-developed paranoia has come upon an individual, he is very unlikely to be rid of it at any later date. The best time to cure paranoia, as is the best time to cure most of these biogenic abnormalities, is prior to its onset; that is, prevention is the cure.

Encephalitis lethargica.—Another condition, which is probably being noticed more in recent years than previ-

ously, is *encephalitis lethargica*. This frequently follows some infectious disease such as influenza, pneumonia, or typhoid fever. Moss and Hunt define it as, "an infectious and mildly contagious disease with manifestation chiefly in the central nervous system, characterized by lethargy, disturbances of the cranial nerves, tremors, muscular twitchings, choreiform movements and mental disturbances."¹²

This is not a biogenic psychosis, but is structural in nature. Remissions are rare, and progress usually points toward fairly early mental and physical helplessness. Victims of *encephalitis lethargica* who are quite deteriorated, however, may make periodic returns to a fairly normal type of mental reaction. The writer had the following case described to him by an assistant in psychiatric work:

A certain child was sent to an institution because of disorderly behavior around her home. Her history was somewhat limited, but it was noted that her disorder seemed to have been noticed more particularly about two years after a fairly brief case of sleeping sickness. At the time of this first diagnosis the girl was rather quick, somewhat mentally alert, and quite responsive, and to the examiner showed a very pleasing personality. She was observed over a period of two years, and in that time her deterioration was very marked: in fact, instead of being active and responsive, she came to sit in a more or less huddled mass and apparently was totally oblivious to most environmental situations. She developed homosexual tendencies, especially towards her nurse and female companions. In two years she deteriorated from a quick, responsive, vivacious girl to a sluggish, haphazard,

¹² Moss, F. A., and Hunt, Thelma: *Foundations of Abnormal Psychology*, p. 298. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932.

unkempt piece of humanity who was apparently getting very little joy or pleasure out of any of her life experiences.

Epilepsy is another disorder frequently noted during childhood and adolescence. Church and Peterson say: "The very great majority of cases of epilepsy develop under twenty years of age, and the pubescent period, between twelve and seventeen, contains the greater proportion of them."¹³

From an etiological standpoint, heredity seems to be the main predisposing factor in epilepsy, though the immediate precipitating cause will likely be some environmental stress or trauma. The pathology in epilepsy is variable or negative, though some psychiatrists at the present time think that in epilepsy there is some neurological or physiological abnormality which results in a serious metabolic disorder, and through this metabolic disorder leads to epilepsy. This is purely a theory, however, and the writer does not care to give it or any other hypothesis his unqualified support until more scientific information is available.

The epileptic is generally recognized by his seizures, in which the one characteristic of psychological or psychiatric significance always to be found is amnesia. There is a high degree of variability from person to person in the number of seizures, which may occur from once every six to eight years in mild cases and, in the most severe cases, 150 to 200 times per day.

Juvenile paresis.—Juvenile paresis is another disease produced by an infection. It is "an organic brain disease occurring in children with a history of congenital

¹³ Church, Archibald, and Peterson, Frederick: *Op. cit.*, p. 700.

syphilis or of early syphilitic infection, and characterized by rapid mental and physical deterioration.”¹⁴ Girls are more susceptible than boys, and the usual age at the onset, as given by Moss and Hunt, is between 10 and 15 years. A child who originally appeared to be fairly bright becomes dull, fails to get along in school, and deteriorates in the various higher mental functions. The condition here is different from dementia præcox in that it causes clumsiness in walking, motor incoördination, and speech disorders. The average duration of the disease before the patient’s death is only a few years, and treatment is at the present time almost wholly ineffective.

Factors influencing the appearance of personality disorders during adolescence.—As we have noted, various types of mental disorders frequently make their appearance during adolescence. To understand why these disorders appear at this time one should review conditions of treatment, socialization, and physiological maturation of maturing boys and girls. Throughout our discussion we have emphasized the epigenetic point of view, along with the concept that development is continuous rather than periodic; and in respect to the appearance of these maladjustments of personality, these viewpoints are further stressed. As Woodworth says:

Heredity does seem to be a strong factor in the causation of insanity, and yet it is very doubtful whether any individual is doomed to insanity by his peculiar heredity. What we should say, rather, is that some individuals have by heredity

¹⁴ Moss, F. A., and Hunt, Thelma: *Op. cit.*, pp. 291–292.

a low power of resistance to the difficulties of life, and consequently go insane more easily than others.¹⁵

The previous chapters have shown some of the important influences at work in affecting the general characteristics of maturing individuals. Several prominent factors that would make adolescence a period of morbidity for these disorders we may now note.

Faulty habit formation during childhood.—The child is conditioned to many emotional stimuli which often interfere with a healthy development of the mental and emotional life. This conditioning process may have a very early beginning, and thus guide the development of further emotional and social habits. The child's early habits have been described as mainly self-centered; later, through social contacts he gradually arrives at a fuller realization of his true relation to others. Now if these early habits have not developed so that the individual may grow into independence and responsibility, we have a dependent creature maturing into the social group: he lacks character traits essential to a happy and successful adjustment to the new and sometimes strange situations he is constantly meeting. If he has been led blindly to conceive of sex as vicious and in every respect obnoxious, his mental and emotional habits are likely to be perverted. If his intellectual habits have not prepared him for the changes that accompany adolescence, abnormal emotional trends are likely to develop in his attempt to adjust to the new impulses present at this stage of life.

¹⁵ Woodworth, R. S.: *Adjustment and Mastery*, p. 117. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1933.

The maturing physiological self.—The basis for the new impulses of adolescence is the development of the visceral organs of the body, and especially the sex and related glands. This development no doubt does much to give the adolescent a better and fuller understanding of his relation to others, and an admiration of those of the opposite sex. It soon becomes very difficult for the adolescent to remain wholly indifferent to members of the opposite sex. In fact, a new and heightened sensitiveness to all the phases of his personal and social environment is now experienced. As was suggested in the earlier chapter on social development, he now begins to heed the general approval of those about him; he begins to make a more careful inventory of his own personal qualities, and may easily develop a keener and more extensive interest in his character traits. Sometimes the passion for display and achievement is in conflict with the fear of failure and thus of social disapproval or ridicule. Of course, this effort to adjust in harmony with the maturing self presents many vital problems to adolescents.

In a similar vein, according to his recent findings among 446 adolescent boys, Layton writes:¹⁶

. . . matured and maturing boys show more evidence in their behavior of the traditional disturbances of early adolescence than do immature boys. The trend seems to be largely independent of chronological age, intelligence rating, grade placement, home conditions, and other factors.

Failure in guidance.—The last chapter of this book deals rather specifically with failures in guidance, but it

¹⁶ Layton, W. K.: "The Problem of Pubescence in Junior High School Boys," *School Review*, 1932, 40, p. 605.

is well to note here that failure in guidance is a very important factor in making for personality disturbances among adolescents. We have noted the consequences of such failure in relation to preparing adolescents for the problems of puberty. The evil potency of any failures of the kind, such as of the failure to recognize the adolescent's new impulses and thus to be able to deal with him as he actually is, can indeed hardly be overestimated.

Thought Problems

1. Differentiate the different degrees of amentia by both definition and example.
2. List some of the characteristics of psychoneuroses.
3. Why is the adolescent period so open to conflicts?
4. Define "psychopathy." What are some behavior reactions characteristic of psychopathy?
5. Discuss the causes and nature of psychopathy. From your general experience, what can you add relative to it?
6. Why is it so important to study the nature of personality disorders of adolescents?

Suggestions for Reading

- Bagby, E.: *The Psychology of Personality*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928.
- May, J. V.: *Mental Diseases*. Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1929.
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- Morgan, J. B.: *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924.
- Moss, F. A., and Hunt, Thelma: *Foundations of Abnormal Psychology*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932.
- Town, C. H., and Hill, G. E.: *How the Feeble-minded Live in the Community*. Buffalo, N. Y.: Children's Aid Society (52 Niagara St.), 1931.

CHAPTER XIII

The Hygiene of Adolescence

Prevention, not cure, as the modern aim of hygiene.—Probably the two most important developments in relation to health within the last score of years are (1) the fuller recognition of the interrelation of the mental and physical well-being of the individual, and (2) the increased emphasis of illness-prevention, with the philosophy that, in general, prevention is better than cure. We are now living in an age of movement, speed, and organization, and efforts are constantly directed towards efficiency. We set aside safety weeks, milk weeks, sanitary weeks, clean-up weeks, and many other types of weeks designed to aid in preventing widespread disease. Inoculations are given, water is purified, measurements are taken, clinics are held, playgrounds are established—all are designed to aid in the prevention of ill-health among the citizenry. It is well-recognized that many of the natural health influences of primitive life are absent in the more artificial life of today, and many obstacles to health have been set up through the development of our industrial life with all its many concomitants. Society is facing the growing problem of establishing such conditions in the lives of growing boys and girls as help to prevent unbalanced physical and mental conditions among them later in life.

Prevention, not cure, then, is the emphasis of modern hygiene. The more alert students of medicine are pointing more and more to this as a new philosophy of life and health. Their enlarged vision of a healthy citizenship through the practice of good health habits, and the living of a well-balanced life, will without doubt yield very good results when the public is brought to realize more fully the necessity of prevention. This philosophy will furthermore be one of the means of coping more effectively with the increasing problems of mental health; for, as we have noted, a growing recognition exists that these problems are inseparable from problems of physical health. The lines of demarcation are rather dim, there is overlapping, and there are mutual interactive effects caused by any imbalance.

Handicaps to the physical health of adolescents.—There are several phases of this general problem dealing with handicaps to adolescent health, and in considering these we may tend to bring together some of the points already presented in connection with interests, volitions, religious growth, and personality development. Good health in its broadest aspect is essential to a well-balanced personality; for on it depend to a large degree energy, volition, ideals, and happiness. Analogous to poor health are individuals deficient in surplus energy, lacking in self-control, and with a more pessimistic attitude towards life. During adolescence many handicaps are constantly thrown into the general life processes of the individual to the detriment of good health development, which is so great a potentiality and necessity in the making of a well-balanced personality.

One of the most important handicaps to adolescent health is due to the life activities of boys and girls that tend towards crowding. The theater, the school, the church, the dance, and the street-car and automobiles all bring groups into close contact, within the range of spray ejected by sneezing and coughing. Many contacts are made also by handshaking, transferring books and other articles, etc. Such activities are very effective in spreading germs and thus developing diseases.

Another handicap to adolescent health is suggested in relation to mental-hygiene principles. The beneficial effects of exercise have been emphasized, and rightly so, within recent years; but temperance in play activities is most desirable. There is grave danger that, with the onset of adolescence and the fuller development of the internal organs related to respiration, exercise will be insufficient: the more solitary and intellectual pursuits of high-school years are likely to diminish this exercise unwarrantably. On the other hand, overexertion in team activities may exist; hence, to boys and girls in good health who are especially interested in athletic performances a caution should be issued against exertion to the point of physical injury. Students are appealed to through the force of rivalry and thus motivated to do their all for the sake of their school or organization to which they have firm loyalty. Exercise is often carried beyond the point of mere fatigue, stimulants even being resorted to in order to overcome complete exhaustion. Of course the adolescent, who is constantly building up additional energy, can stand a great deal of exertion; but it goes without saying that activity should not

extend beyond one's physical well-being and powers. Physical maturity, in particular, should be taken into consideration in the control of recreational activities.

A third handicap of adolescent health is that of dissipation. Until the beginning of adolescence, the child has usually had some reasonable guidance and discipline; his hours of sleep, meals, etc., along with his appetitive habits, have been observed and provided for. But with the onset of adolescence, and with group situations coming to play such a prominent part in his life, the individual tends to live in conformity with group desires and activities, which quite commonly involve smoking, drinking, irregular hours of eating and sleeping, exposure to colds and drafts, and the like. The youth is now exposed to these probably more than at any other time of life.

A fourth handicap of adolescent health is accidents, such as may cause body malformations during this stage of life. The daring spirit of adolescents will cause them to pursue activities that may and often do end in mishaps more than at any other period of life. The increased surplus energy, the greater emotional drive, the spirit of rivalry, and the new social contacts are all forces related to an accelerated and enlarged motor life. On adolescents at work the following comment has been made:

The child is more susceptible to industrial accidents than the adult engaged in similar work. The awkwardness of children of adolescent age, the natural irresponsibility, carelessness and curiosity of youth, the unaccustomed strain accompanying the transition from an easy five-hour school day to the confining work for eight hours a day or longer in a factory

all tend to subject the worker in his teens to a greater accident hazard than exists for mature workers.¹

A fifth handicap results from the spirit of rivalry so prominent during this age. Rivalry has been studied in relation to adolescent interests and adolescent play life, and has been seen to be widely displayed during this period; some students of psychology have even listed it as an instinct appearing in a fuller stage of development with the onset of adolescence. We shall not call rivalry an instinct, but it is well to note that it is well-nigh universal in social, physical, and even spiritual realms of adolescent activities. Hence it should be guided along lines acceptable to society but consonant with adolescent interests.

During adolescence the individual has a superior amount of energy and is able to withstand adverse environmental and physical conditions to a greater extent than at any other period of life. The death rate is very low during this stage despite all the handicaps we have noted. However, the effect of all these forces playing upon the adolescent is either indirect or is delayed in results: the various situations and conditions with which the adolescent comes in contact will in all probability powerfully affect his further activities and tend to involve further changes of the personality. This development of further desirable or undesirable personality qualities should again be considered from the developmental viewpoint. It is here, as we have already seen, that a well-grounded and firmly rooted religious attitude, nourished and empowered by a well-defined habit system

¹ *Child Labor Facts*, 1930, National Child Labor Committee.

of initiative and self-control, may further desirable development.

Adolescence as a period of morbidity.—It might well be stated as a general principle that any period of life during which pronounced physiological changes are taking place is a period of morbidity to diseased conditions related to such changes. Using this as a basis, one can by studying the physiological changes note the diseases that are likely to result. Because of the nature of the life activities of adolescents, theirs is a period of life susceptible to body malformations and various mental maladjustments. Round shoulders and spinal curvatures, for example, may develop at this time. Furthermore, owing to the frequency of exposure to various somewhat dangerous environmental situations, deforming accidents are likely.

Adolescence is characterized by diseased conditions and physical afflictions. Headaches, eye troubles, indigestion, respiratory troubles, malformation of bones, and infections are especially prevalent. It is a remarkable fact, then, that despite all, we find here the lowest mortality. According to the United States mortality statistics² for 1926 the death rate per 1000 children from five to nine years old was 2.3; from 10 to 14, 1.7; and from 15 to 19, 2.9. Following was a gradual increase for each age group of a range of five years. Thus it will bear repeating that these years of accelerated growth may bring with them bodily malformations, developmental troubles, nervous conditions, and the beginning of various other types of diseases; but that the mortality figures reveal the death rate here at its lowest ebb.

² *United States Mortality Statistics*, 1926, Part II, p. 25.

Although adolescence is a period of morbidity to certain diseases, among which are typhoid fever, tuberculosis, and mental disorders, these may be alleviated through counsel and guidance. Tuberculosis is a case in point. With the onset of adolescence occurs—as noted in Chapter II in connection with unevenness of growth and increased glandular action—an increase of lung capacity; but also at this time, owing to the trend to more non-physical work for and in school, exercise falls off. Hence exercise may be lacking just when the lungs require it, with the result that a morbidity to tuberculosis develops; furthermore, since the lungs are closely related to emotional life (see Chapter IV), their affection may create new emotional problems for the adolescent. The place of guidance in such developments should be clear.

Mental hygiene as related to physical conditions.—Many an ignorant, untutored person has never heard of mental hygiene but has at the same time practiced mental hygiene according to some of the best present-day viewpoints. Successful physicians have constantly recognized the close relation between mental attitudes and physical well-being. William White said some years ago:

Mental hygiene is therefore the last word in preventive medicine. . . . The mental hygiene movement is . . . calculated to push the whole problem of the consideration of the sick individual to a little higher plane. . . . The mental hygiene movement has as one of its functions the encouragement of all those lines of inquiry and research that lead to a better knowledge of the human animal, particularly his conduct reactions. It is the task of mental hygiene to find less wasteful, more efficient means for dealing with the problems that arise at this level, and, when found, to urge such measures unceasingly

upon those who make and administer our laws and direct the trends of public thought.³

Mental hygiene, resolved into its elements, means a search for increased efficiency, and, therefore, increased happiness in living; its aim is that the individual shall be able to deal satisfactorily not only with the problems of food, sex, and metabolic changes, but also with the much more complex task of man as a social unit. And this points to more satisfactory adjustments between man's irrational motives and impulses and the rational self.⁴

The increasing importance of mental hygiene.—The initiation of the mental-hygiene movement was very timely. In 1908, Clifford Beers, who had been a patient in both public and private hospitals for the insane, published his *The Mind That Found Itself*, in which he revealed the secrets of his mind and told of his experiences in the hospitals. The driving force of his personality was an important factor in the organization, in 1909, of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Beer's way, however, had been prepared by progressive leaders in psychology, psychiatry, and medicine who had already begun to heed the problems of mental hygiene. Since then mental hygiene, owing its existence largely to these studies, has in turn had a very beneficial effect upon them.

The movement has grown and will continue to grow in the near future. Its first emphasis was largely on the

³ White, Wm. A.: *The Principles of Mental Hygiene*, pp. 30, 32-33. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. (Quoted by permission of the publishers.)

⁴ Williams, F. E.: "Mental Hygiene and the College Student," *Mental Hygiene*, 1925, 5, pp. 283-301.

abnormal and on the study of afflicted subjects with a view to their more rational treatment and cure. The most attention was originally given to environmental stimuli, in order that the individual might be cured. The second step involved the study of individual drives largely within the subject, and attempts were made to change his inner nature. The latest development of mental hygiene has been in a different direction: efforts have been made to *keep* people normal—a shift from cure to prevention has taken place. In the presidential address delivered at the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene, William A. White said:

. . . Particularly does the preventive problem loom as important when we learn, as we have in this country, that mental hospitals, or at least the number of beds in mental hospitals, are increasing more rapidly than the beds in all other types of hospitals combined.⁵

Mental hygiene must begin during childhood.—It must be remembered that the adolescent is but a product of earlier experiences whose development is gradual and continuous. Thus if we are to understand the mental hygiene of adolescents it is necessary to study the influences that have thus far affected them. The problems of adolescent mental hygiene have their inception in most cases in the early fondling and feeding activities of the growing newborn baby. The mother who feeds her child every time he cries is certainly teaching the child to dominate situations by violence; she is also failing to develop in him desirable habits of digestion, and to teach habits of self-control. Such

⁵ White, William A.: "The Origin, Growth, and Significance of the Mental-Hygiene Movement," *Mental Hygiene*, 1931, 15, p. 561.

early habits will become a part of the child's growing personality, and at a later date one will likely find him shrieking with rage when he fails to have his desires satisfied. Such a child, unless his behavior is modified by some trying experiences with other children, will likely develop with very poor preparation for adjustment to a social world in which responsibility and self-control are essential.

It is being recognized that many mental-hygiene problems have their inception around these early habits and needs, and the attitudes that parents assume towards them. Moreover, it should be realized that the emotional life of the child is as much subject to control by proper training as any feature of his behavior responses. Pillsbury points out the necessity of a balanced attitude towards the child. He says:

A child should have neither too much nor too little of anything. Possibly most important of all he should be treated neither too well nor too harshly by anyone. A spoiled child, one for whom everything is done and of whom little or nothing is required, has the way prepared for a nervous disturbance of some sort. On the other hand, a child who is constantly driven to tasks too hard for it, who is the butt of an ill-tempered parent, who fails to receive due consideration, still more the child who is maltreated, physically or emotionally, is also fairly certainly prepared for some sort of mental or nervous trouble.⁶

The school and mental hygiene.—The function of the school in the development of the child has been emphasized throughout this study of growing boys and girls, and is recognized as well by organizations concerned with

⁶ Pillsbury, W. B.: *An Elementary Psychology of the Abnormal*, p. 352. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932.

problems of growth. Practically all mental-hygiene societies are using the schools as agencies for furthering their work; in fact, practically all suggestions connected with mental-hygiene work include the use of the school in the program. Also, health clinics—designed rather to aid the child in adjusting the phases of his personality than to study behavior problems present in connection with environmental situations—are constantly held at schools to aid in the preservation of the health and sanity of youth.

Campbell says: "Many of the problems presented by children are not to be solved by attention to nutrition and to freedom from infection, but have their roots in complex emotional and personal factors."⁷ No doubt many cases in need of mental-hygiene treatment and attention will never come to the attention of a child-guidance clinic, a psychiatrist, or any other person or organization formally interested in these problems, but will have to be dealt with largely through a trial-and-error process carried on unconsciously in the home or school. For it is in the home and the school that the child spends the major portion of his time and these problems are sure to be encountered in either a characteristic or a disguised form.

Public schools could probably make no greater contribution to the welfare of the nation than to assume a reasonable amount of responsibility for the mental health of these maturing boys and girls. Often it is only through the agency of the school that enlightened

⁷ Campbell, C. M.: *A Present-day Conception of Mental Disorders*, p. 19. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924.

influences can operate. The old Greek maxim, "A sound mind in a sound body," should become more the general aim of the present-day school. It appears quite likely that, following the Reformation, interest in education was overdeveloped intellectually, and little thought was given to the physical and mental balance of students. It is only within recent years that the emphasis has begun to change, and efforts have been—and are

TABLE XII

ENROLLMENT IN SPECIAL DAY-SCHOOLS AND CLASSES AS REPORTED
IN 1930⁸ (FROM 1928-30 BIENNIAL SURVEY OF EDUCATION)

<i>Type of Classes</i>	<i>Number of Pupils Enrolled</i>	<i>Number of Cities</i>	<i>Number of States</i>	<i>Estimated Incidence</i>
Mentally deficient ^a	55,154	315	40	500,000
Deaf or hard-of-hearing.....	3,901	105	26	500,000
Blind or partially seeing.....	5,000	106	23	50,000
Defective speech.....	52,112	65	22	1,000,000
Anemic tuberculosis.....	31,186	126	31	6,000,000
Crippled.....	10,110	93	19	100,000
Delinquent, unstable.....	9,040	55	25	750,000
Gifted.....	3,883	30	18	500,000

^a Limited to cities of 10,000 or more.

being—made to develop the physical well-being of growing boys and girls. Special classes have been organized in a large number of cities to care for unhealthy conditions existing. Table XII gives data from the U. S. Office of Education which are recognized as incomplete but as probably the most complete available information relative to what the schools are doing about this large problem.

Teachers should be trained to recognize the interplay of physical and mental factors in the general health and

⁸ In some cases data are not available for 1930 and the data available for 1929 are used.

behavior of their pupils. A case in point was called to the attention of the writer:

A girl thirteen years of age was a disciplinary problem case, and also was in a special class for backward children. The principal of the school had been considering excusing her from school for some time. Her teacher's big problem was to devise some means of disciplining the girl for her constant activities, many of which showed signs of average intelligence. In terms of physical development this girl was about average. Her health and examination record in the principal's office revealed no defects. She disliked school very much, but appeared to have a normal, healthy social life at home. But in some industrial-arts activities the teacher observed an apparently unconscious squinting of the girl's eyes, and this led to a more careful physical examination, which revealed 9/20 vision in one eye and 6/20 in the other, along with a condition of anemia.

An examination of the girl on a previous occasion had revealed retardation, but it was impossible to tell to what extent such a finding was the result of defective vision. The girl herself had been led to believe that she was slower than the other pupils, that she couldn't do the work other pupils could do; hence her entire personality was being seriously colored by a failure of diagnosis.

Cases somewhat similar could be multiplied many times by those who have studied them. Failures in diagnosing correctly the sources of behavior problems will continue, but a fuller recognition of the integration of mental, emotional, and physical processes should reduce them considerably.

A systematized or unsystematized program of mental hygiene should be considered in every school. And any program should include the following elements:

1. Teachers trained in the principles of child and adolescent psychology and of mental health.
2. A psychophysical study of every beginning pupil.
3. A reorganization of primary grades in harmony with the interests and nature of children, along with an opportunity for more systematic and careful observation.
4. A consideration of the integrative nature of the various agencies dealing with the training and development of children.
5. The development of schools and classes to care for the handicapped and deficient.
6. The focusing of the attention upon the causes underlying maladjustments, rather than upon behavior disorders as such.

That education is most hygienic which provokes and promotes the child's innate abilities, and which disposes him to be a good citizen. Hence educators, by developing well-balanced personalities among their pupils, may influence the ultimate mental vigor and health of the nation. Until the center of attention of the school is shifted from subject matter to pupils, to human beings, little progress will be made in the better understanding and guidance of adolescents in the formation of personalities that will be able to adjust to a rapidly changing civilization. Teachers who are irritable, who have no appreciation of human nature, who are interested wholly in subject matter, who "don't have time" to study a problem case, who themselves are ill-adjusted, can not apply principles of mental hygiene in their school work that will aid the maladjusted and prevent others from becoming maladjusted. Teachers who gain the confidence and good-will of their pupils, who are eager to aid them in their problems, who are sympathetic with them in their troubles, and who manifest an interest in their interests, will be able to exert a profound influence in

the prevention and treatment of the growing problems of maladjustment.⁹

The maturing adolescent.—Throughout preceding chapters it has been emphasized that as the child grows into the period of adolescence, following that of childhood, he is truly entering upon a new sphere of activity. He is reaching into a new social atmosphere, the maturing physiological nature is asserting itself along new channels, and new impulses are arising. It has furthermore been pointed out that behavior is not explicable wholly in terms of the stimulus-response hypothesis, but rather in terms of the *S-O-R* formula. This formula as applied to the maturing adolescent indicates that stimuli affect him which formerly did not affect him, and therefore he will react as formerly he did not react.

The adolescent, with his rapid physiological changes, with his new type of physical potency, with his increased physical strength and vigor, with his growing impulses relative to others, is not the same organism that responded to various stimuli during infancy and childhood; because of his organic changes his responses to various stimuli are quite different from what they were just a few years ago. At four years of age Tom will call to Mary, a neighbor's child, to climb over the fence and come play in the sand pile with him. A little later occurs a shift in interest to games without sexual significance, but also a shyness towards the opposite sex; and at the age of seventeen Tom will likely be calling over the phone rather than over the back fence. This time the call will

⁹ Garrison, K. C.: "School Adjustments of Adolescents," *The North Carolina Teacher*, September, 1933, pp. 14-15, 37.

be for an automobile ride, a dinner dance, or a swim in the lake. The impulses prompting the call over the back fence to play in the sand, and those prompting the call over the telephone to go for a ride or a stroll, are different: the interests of a maturing organism have replaced those of the playful child.

Thus behavior changes somewhat in harmony with the physiological changes that are taking place at this period; also, with such changes in behavior activities Tom and Mary face increasing responsibilities and increasing needs for adequate adjustments to a changing condition in their own life and environment. To express it analytically, the *O* in the *S-O-R* (stimulus-organism-response) formula has undergone some rather paramount changes, and with these changes have come changes of *R* in relation to stimuli, and especially to social stimuli: thus stimuli that formerly affected *O* as a mere object or person will now tend to affect *O* as a member of the opposite sex.

So that their *R*'s may be adjusted in harmony with the changed physiological self, adolescents should be prepared to know and understand the nature and significance of the changes and activities that take place during adolescence. It is not enough that the child be informed concerning changes after they have begun; in fact, if those from whom he should have got information have not given it to him by this time, it is quite likely that he has gained it from unguided and often ill-informed sources. Canivet¹⁰ found from a questionnaire given 697 men and 153 women that they had received informa-

¹⁰ Canivet, N: "Enquête sur l'initiation sexuelle" (A study of sexual enlightenment), *Arch. de. psychol.*, 1932, 23, pp. 239-278.

tion relative to sex between the ages of 8 and 12 years, the preadolescent stage of life. A child who is dealt with frankly, positively, and honestly by parents or other advisers will not, to satisfy a naive curiosity, find it necessary to seek information through misinformed or otherwise questionable channels.

Margaret Mead¹¹ found during a year's stay with the Samoan people an almost total lack of mental-hygiene problems. This she attributed in the main to frankness in dealing with problems of childhood, and the open attitude towards physiological processes, functions, and changes. The consensus among physicians, biologists, psychologists, educators, and other students of human nature is that information should be given to the child in harmony with his curiosity and ability to understand. As Bigelow points out:

The accumulating evidence is pointing towards the conclusion that the "critical" aspect of human puberty in highly civilized countries is probably due very largely to unhygienic conditions, most of which are preventable or correctable in childhood and adolescence.¹²

Mental-Hygiene Principles

Educate individuals in the meaning and significance of the changes and activities related to adolescence.—This point has been discussed briefly in relation to the problem of adolescent maturity. By education is not meant here a formal education in ordinary academic

¹¹ Mead, Margaret: *Coming of Age in Samoa*, New York: William Morrow & Co., 1928.

¹² Bigelow, M. A.: *Adolescence: Educational and Hygienic Problems*, p. 33. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1924.

subject matter. It is well-known that a student may be an honor student in high school but a complete failure in his adjustments in life, that the model student as judged by the teacher may and often is a mental-hygiene problem in the making. Judge Ben B. Lindsey found from his observations of problem cases which appeared before him that there was great need in many cases for further education, and sometimes reëducation, in facts relating to the meaning of life, the personal experiences of life, and the relationship with others, all of which were closely related to the larger problem of making adequate mental adjustments.

Create an appreciation in each individual for humanity, art, and science.—The true meaning of this principle is that each individual should be trained for esthetic appreciation. The boy or girl who can find joy and solace in reading a good book or studying some worthy piece of art will more likely meet trying situations and make adequate adjustments than will those who have no wholesome interests of an individualistic nature. One should establish a balance between individual and group interests. It is through some of these activities that a tired or worried mind can find rest and happiness. Furthermore, in developing esthetic appreciations one is developing behavior patterns and attitudes that are definitely uplifting and of such a nature that they aid in the development and conservation of mental health.

Each person should be educationally and vocationally adjusted.—The child who is encouraged to enter upon a curriculum not commensurate with his or her abilities is certainly not educationally adjusted. The child who is encouraged in his ambitions to become something out of

harmony with his general aptitudes is not vocationally adjusted. Such conditions will contribute to the ill-health of a child. Everyone should be placed on tasks that require effort and initiative, but the efforts required should be able to get returns in the form of success. Success in various tasks becomes a great motivating force for further effort in the same general direction. It is well-known that the dull child who is not kept busy owing to his inability to understand work, and the bright child who is not kept busy owing to his ability to perform work quickly and with ease, are potential problem cases. From these sources arise many disciplinary problems.

Maintain a balance between work, rest, and play.—The oft-quoted statement, “All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy,” clarifies further our thought here. But it is no mere bromide to say that “idleness is the devil’s workshop.” If nothing definite to do is at hand, every opportunity exists for the individual to dwell upon his own difficulties, personal conflicts, and unfortunate experiences, with the result that he will probably develop pernicious ideas relative to himself and his place in the general social order. In play the individual will probably move out of this realm of self-consideration, and the stimuli to which he will be reacting in the play sphere will likely be so completely unrelated to the problems which concern him that they will not produce any egocentrisms or complex responses, but rather rest, freedom, and relaxation.

Avoid hyperemotional situations.—In Chapter IV a direct relation between bodily changes and the emotional experiences of an individual was pointed out. It was further noted that these bodily changes involved

the internal organs of the body and especially the glandular and visceral system. Now as a part of these internal disturbances, a hyperadrenal secretion exists in the bloodstream, and this speeds up the action of the liver and heart and some other organs of the body. It is generally known to have a very great stimulating effect. Thus, during a state of fear or anger, in either a simple or a complex form, the blood is drawn from the internal organs of the body and sent out to the limbs of the body. Hence, if this operation is long continued or takes place often during early adolescence, before the heart has developed in proportion to the arteries and other organs, it may have a deleterious effect upon the heart. Furthermore, the increased action of the liver in producing glycogen, and thus glycosuria, is likely to be very injurious to the health of the individual; certain physical disorders such as indigestion and diseases of the circulatory system and liver, are closely identified with constant hyperemotional stimuli. Space does not permit a fuller discussion, but it is well that one should recognize this avoidance of hyperemotional situations as an important principle of physical well-being.

But the relation between physical and mental well-being leads at once to the general conclusion that we have found a good mental-hygiene principle. For the establishment of hyperemotional habits through contact with emotional stimuli should also be prevented. This is a matter for special attention, since a conditioned process may be established by means of one repetition if there is an intense emotional situation present. The establishment of phobias and other emotional disturbances referred to in the preceding chapter are illustrative.

Practice temperance in general.—Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, had this in mind when he said:

We must observe that in all these matters of human action the too little and too much are alike ruinous. . . . Too much and too little exercise alike impair the strength, and too much meat and drink and too little both alike destroy the health. . . . So, too, the man who takes his fill of every pleasure and abstains from none becomes a profligate; while he who shuns all becomes stolid and insusceptible.

In work, in play, in social activities, temperance should be observed—a point quite in harmony with what we have noted relative to hyperemotional situations. If one establishes a balance in life and maintains it, he will not fall into mental and physical hazards as will those who refuse to practice self-control.

Keep physically fit.—The close relation between physical well-being and mental well-being has been emphasized throughout this chapter, as well as indicated throughout our review of the growth and development of adolescent boys and girls. It is widely realized that we are not so well-adjusted in our mental reactions when we are physically disturbed as we are when we have better physical balance. Furthermore, the alert physician is coming to recognize more and more the importance of a wholesome mental attitude in effecting better physical conditions. The individual who is diseased is a more likely candidate for mental troubles than the healthy individual. The human body is a totality, a completely integrated pattern of behavior, and the lack of balance in the activity of one part will likely have an ill effect upon the activity of all other parts.

Develop habits of unselfishness.—It is quite true that altruism can be carried to an extreme, but it is likely that individuals are self-centered from birth and grow to be sociable beings only through social contacts. Since practically everyone is destined to live a life in contact with others, he should develop habits of understanding and appreciating others; and this means that each child should be trained to respect others' rights and privileges. By coming to realize our interdependence with others and striving for more adequate adjustments with the various units of our social group, we develop habits and attitudes that fit us to life as social creatures.

Form friendships.—It is indeed most unfortunate when children have no other children with whom to play, and when boys and girls of later and more social years, as of adolescence, have no one to share with them their troubles and some of their joys. Many a child, in fact, has such home relations that he is forced to do as a boy of twelve revealed to the writer recently: "Naw, I don't never say nothin' 'bout that at home. I do go and tell the coach, though, 'cause he promised not to tell, and I know he doesn't."

Close friendships should be formed by adolescents outside the home. It is not well in most cases for children of great difference in chronological or physiological age to form too close a friendship. This is probably true during adolescence more than at any other time of life, since differences stand out far more now than at a later period. But contacts with others, with similar interests, understandings, and abilities, will aid in insuring a more balanced personality.

Facing reality.—The positive phase of conduct should be emphasized, especially in the endeavor to establish normal adjustments in new and strange situations. There is evidence that the young adolescents of today are more capable of meeting new and strange social and moral problems than were the young of two or three generations ago. Educational forces are developing in adolescent boys and girls habits of thinking and discriminating rather than those ready-made patterns of behavior that would have them follow a leader or a command blindly. They are more responsive to generous enthusiasm, and more eager to follow noble ideals once they have discovered them and are fully convinced of their value. They show the tendencies of a dynamic civilization rather than of a less active one and of the more seclusive ages of the past. In harmony with the development of the modern youths in such a way that they will be able to face our complex social order with a spirit of freedom and honesty, Burnham writes:

To learn to face reality, to acquire habits of attention and orderly association, to develop wholesome interests, to control one's emotions, to coöperate in a normal social group; in a word, integration of the individual character and integration of the social group, are more valuable than the acquisition of all knowledge and the mastery of all conventional accomplishments. Thus the application of the principles of mental hygiene in all forms of education, whether in the home, the school, on the playground, or in industry, is essential for efficiency, happiness, and normal development.¹³

Frankly facing any problem situation is effective towards solving it. So long as one refuses to face the

¹³ Burnham, W. H.: *The Normal Mind*, p. 684. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1924.

problem and its true form, just so long will the problem remain unsolved. The individual's habits relative to the problem thus become twisted, as it were, and a make-believe adjustment finally is made.

Thought Problems

1. Look up further meanings of the term "mental hygiene." Why is it impossible to separate mental hygiene from physical hygiene?

2. Show how the "stress and strain" of modern life may affect the physical and mental health of adolescents.

3. What are some of the major problems of the hygiene of adolescence? Are any of these problems peculiar to this specific period of life?

4. In what way is the teacher's task much larger than mere teaching? Give concrete examples.

5. In what ways may the home and the school through coöperation aid the adolescent pupil in gaining a better understanding of himself?

6. Show how mental-hygiene problems follow the developmental idea presented throughout this text.

7. Show how some so-called functional disorders may have a real physical basis. In what ways can mental disturbances affect the physical well-being of an individual?

Suggestions for Reading

Bianchi, Leonardo: *Foundations of Mental Health*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930.

Muenzinger, Karl F., "The Psychology of Readjustment," *Mental Hygiene*, 1929, XIII. (Reprint.)

Pratt, G. K.: *Your Mind and You*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1924.

Proceedings of the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene, 1932.

Terman, L. M., and Almack, J. C.: *The Hygiene of the School Child*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928.

Thom, D. A.: *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1927.

Thomas, W. I.: *The Unadjusted Girl*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1924.

White, W. A.: *The Mental Hygiene of Childhood*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1919.

Note.—*Mental Hygiene* and the *Mental Hygiene Bulletin*, published and distributed by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Inc., also deal specifically with the problems of this chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

Juvenile Delinquency

Universality and normality of delinquency.—No individual, so far as this writer knows, could not have his personality classified as antisocial at some period or periods of his life. And if these negative personalities form a class, then the class is universal in scope. It is rather unfortunate that students of human behavior are constantly taking the “they” attitude in referring to antisocial personalities. The “we” attitude would be nearer correct. A careful analysis will show that some of these personalities are more antisocial in their display of behavior patterns than are others; yet the estimate of antisocial tendencies on the basis of court records is far from accurate. It often becomes a matter of who was caught. It may further be a matter of what type of antisocial tendencies are most easily detected.

It has already been pointed out that antisocial individuals are not of some special type. Probably no group of people has more truly human desires or natural yearnings than are found in some of our penal institutions. They do not differ in kind from us; at most they differ in certain manifestations. Thus after one is able to see the real child who is hiding behind a shield of delinquency which he has thrown about himself, consciously or unconsciously, as a protest against environmental circumstances or to protect himself against hazards

imposed upon him, one will find an abundance of real humanity and willingness to respond to decent treatment given in the correct manner and spirit.

Some problems.—Annoying behavior should be looked upon as a symptom of certain conditions affecting the life of the subject concerned. On the basis of a very careful analysis of the behavior one should thus be able to predict to a degree, at least, certain conditions from a variety of factors that might have affected the child. Alert teachers and social workers are commonly following such a principle. They are looking upon the activities of the behavior-problem boy as symptomatic of a great variety of conditions, such as: physical conditions, socio-economic status of the parents, general conditions of the home, intellectual conditions, educational advancement of both parents and child, faulty habit formation, and poor guidance. It will be pointed out in the following discussions that in most acts of an antisocial nature several causative elements are present. Hon. Joseph E. Nelson, Judge of the Juvenile Court, Provo, Utah, says:

Delinquency like crime is not assignable to any single or universal source, but arises from a multiple of causes, yet often it is the case that a single circumstance will stand out as the dominant and real factor.¹

Among the factors here studied are the following: (1) The home relationship; (2) the neighborhood conditions; (3) the school; and (4) mental and emotional defects.

The Home and Juvenile Delinquency

Parental attitudes.—Entirely too many parents assume the attitude that a child is theirs, just as any other

¹ Nelson, Joseph E.: "Juvenile Delinquency," *The Kiwanis Magazine*, May, 1932, XVII, pp. 213-214, 233-234.

personal property, and that they have the right to "cash in" on him at any time or in any way they may happen to wish. As Van Waters says, "Some parents appear to think they have vested property right in their children and seek to coerce them when their rights are not yielding dividends."² This attitude is permissible insofar as discipline is concerned during the early years of training; but with growth into adolescence a rebellious child will result. This independent characteristic of the adolescent, which has already been pointed out, is closely related to the early development of many juvenile crimes. Thus it was recently found in a survey of the home attitude of 10,000 normal school children in Massachusetts that:

At eleven years of age seventy per cent of the girls and sixty per cent of the boys found greatest pleasure in the homes and preferred to spend their leisure hours there. For every year after that there was a five per cent loss of the child to the home up to the seventeenth year, where the study stopped.

The investigation showed that 68 per cent of the boys and 78 per cent of the girls gave reasons that indicated that their homes were faulty. Competition of outside interests caused 29 per cent of the boys and 22 per cent of the girls to prefer to be "away from home."

According to the survey, "the fault with the home that caused most of them to seek pleasure elsewhere was a lack of companionship with parents, brothers and sisters and friends. This cause was given by one-fourth of the boys and one-third of the girls.

The next reason given was that of "too much parental control"; 16 per cent of the girls and 14 per cent of the boys gave this reason.

² Van Waters, Miriam: *Youth in Conflict*, p. 81. Republic Publishing Co., 1925.

Other reasons were: "Nothing doing in my home," according to 7 per cent of the boys and 9 per cent of the girls. Crowding and bad housing, 7 per cent; too many home duties, 5 per cent; lack of play equipment, 4 per cent; and family quarrels, 3 per cent.³

Parents should face the problem that the child is becoming a matured being. Initiative and responsibility are character traits that become essential for the child's successful adjustment, and fair play must be a by-word. Closely associated with this lack of comradeship and desirable spirit in the home is the "broken" home. Needless to say, where this condition exists, comradeship, proper supervision, and parental care become almost impossible.

Marital status.—Table XIII presents data showing the relation between the marital status of the parents of boys and girls reported to courts for delinquency.⁴ According to these data, in slightly more than one-fifth of the cases of the boys one or both of the parents were dead, while in nearly one-third of the cases this was true for the girls. In two-thirds of the boys' cases but in less than one-half of the girls' cases for which information was available, the children were living with both of their own parents when reported to the court. The greater number of girls from broken homes is probably to be explained on the basis of the type of crime for which they are reported. Table XVI reveals that girls are usually reported for more serious crimes that relate more directly

³ *Massachusetts Department of Correction Quarterly*, January, 1929, V, pp. 1-3, 6. (Quoted from Haynes, *Criminology*, p. 149.)

⁴ *Juvenile Court Statistics*, 1930, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 212, 1932, p. 8.

to home life. Ungovernable activities, running away from home, and similar offenses are naturally more closely related to home life than are stealing and general mischief, for which most boys are reported.

TABLE XIII

MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS OF BOYS AND GIRLS DEALT WITH IN DELINQUENCY CASES DISPOSED OF BY 88 COURTS DURING 1930^a

<i>Marital Status of Parents</i>	BOYS		GIRLS	
	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>Per Cent Distri- bution</i>	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>Per Cent Distri- bution</i>
Total cases.....	45,374		8,383	
Status reported.....	41,864	100	7,819	100
Married and living together.....	28,701	69	3,926	52
Separated or divorced.....	3,629	9	1,188	16
Divorced.....	1,499	4	531	7
Father deserting mother.....	888	2	224	3
Mother deserting father.....	176	(b)	44	1
Other reasons.....	1,066	3	389	5
Parents dead.....	9,195	22	2,346	31
Both.....	914	2	261	3
Mother.....	2,913	7	914	12
Father.....	5,368	13	1,171	15
Parents not married to each other	272	1	139	2
Other status.....	67	(b)	20	(b)
Status not reported.....	3,510		764	

^a Only 80 of the 88 courts reported girls' cases.

^b Less than one per cent.

Economic status.—Another home condition closely related to the etiology of delinquency is the economic status. However, one must not assume that it is the poor home that is always the offender. In fact, mere economic status in itself is probably not an important factor. Ettinger notes the following condition as closely associated with inferior economic status:

In the slums and poverty-stricken areas of the cities are to be found ramshackle buildings, with well-defined types of

submerged humanity. These determining areas are a world of foreign tongues, an area of cheap lodging-houses filled with economic failures—the broken family, the marooned family, and human derelicts.⁵

That this relationship is rather close is further borne out by the study of delinquents by Breckinridge and Abbott, and Fernald.⁶ Their results are presented in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

RATINGS OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF HOMES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN CHICAGO, AND WOMEN DELINQUENTS IN NEW YORK STATE

<i>Home Conditions</i>	<i>Chicago</i>			<i>New York State</i>
	<i>Male</i> (584 cases)	<i>Female</i> (157 cases)	<i>Both</i> (741 cases)	<i>Both</i> (420 cases)
Very poor.....	38.2	68.8	44.7	41.4
Poor.....	37.9	21.0	34.3	45.0
Fair.....	21.2	7.6	18.3	13.1
Good.....	1.7	1.3	1.6	0.5
Very good.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No home.....	1.0	1.3	1.1	0.0

But children from wealthy homes sometimes commit delinquencies of a serious nature, usually because of one of two things: either the child is humored so much that he fails to develop a sense of individual ownership and division of property and rights; or, as is frequently the case, the child's training has been in the hands of unprepared and thus unwise servants, and from these substitute parents he has learned selfishness, bigotry, and in many cases some of the essential elements of delinquency itself.

⁵ Ettinger, C. J.: *The Problem of Crime*, p. 151. New York: R. R. Smith, 1932.

⁶ Breckinridge and Abbott: *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, pp. 70-72. Russell Sage Foundation, 1912. Fernald: *A Study of Women Delinquents in New York State*. New York: The Century Co., 1920.

Character of parents.—Another factor in the home is the character of the parents. It has been pointed out that the child is imitative, and especially does he imitate those whom he considers authorities. He comes to feel that their acts are an endorsement of such types of behavior. Imitation and suggestion in connection with drinking, immorality, lawlessness, and the like aid in the establishment of delinquent tendencies in adolescent boys and girls. In a recent study by Lumpkin⁷ the delinquent girls' parental background was found to be very unfavorable. Social defective tendencies such as crime, alcoholism, and sexual irregularity appeared 443 times in 189 families. In Schulman's study "43 percent of families of truants, 50 percent of families of juvenile delinquents, 66 percent of families of misdemeanants, and 83 percent of families of felons had criminal records."⁸ Although the objective information on this point is not wholly conclusive, it is the belief of this writer that criminality among parents is a very powerful conditioning factor for juvenile delinquency when it does appear. Goring⁹ really classed such points as we are here considering under the head of heredity, a rather unfortunate classification because it is certainly true that the mere presence of certain characteristics in both parent and offspring does not prove they are inherited. Goring concluded that intelligence and heredity are two main factors in the

⁷ Lumpkin, K. D.: "Factors in the Commitment of Correctional School Girls in Wisconsin," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1931, 37, pp. 222-230.

⁸ "Crime Prevention Through Education," *Research Bulletin of the National Education Association*, 1932, 10, p. 168.

⁹ Goring, Chas.: *The English Convict*, Chaps. V and VII. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office.

determination of criminality. In reality, this can probably be taken as further evidence for the epigenetic position maintained throughout this study; it will be pointed out later in this chapter that there is a reliable correlation between inferior mental status and undesirable environmental conditions. Yet one must analyze the various elements of the situation further before drawing definite conclusions.

Overcrowding.—Another home condition somewhat closely related to many of those already considered is overcrowding. This is especially likely to occur in circumstances of poverty, and leads to stealing. Congested living conditions within the home or neighborhood may also cause children to come more into contact with sexual stimulation, and thereby result in increased immorality. Other causal home conditions exist which cannot be considered here; nor is there ample space to consider even the major studies that have been made of any one. Profanity, the mother's being forced to work, lack of educational advantages, lack of recreational facilities, the broken home, and undesirable companions in relation to the home are all potent factors. However, the Massachusetts survey referred to on page 282 points out:

The most important thing in the home is not the house or the furniture, but the spirit of it. This spirit of comradeship with the child is within the reach of rich and poor. By it the child is kept in the home, and his chances of delinquency are materially decreased.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Massachusetts Department of Correction Quarterly*, January, 1929, V, pp. 1-3, 6.

Neighborhood Conditions

Congested neighborhoods.—The detrimental effect of ill home conditions is usually supplemented by undesirable neighborhood influences. In the first place congested home conditions are closely related to congested neighborhood conditions. It has been found from various studies that crime is relatively higher in populous territories. Several years ago it was shown that the four most populous counties of Tennessee contained about 27 per cent of the population (1920 Census) but contributed over 50 per cent of the juvenile delinquents.¹¹ Figures available from such states as Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, North Carolina, Missouri, Nebraska, Iowa, and other centers reveal the same tendency.

Not only do our juvenile criminals come from the more populous centers: they are found in the more congested areas of such centers. A total of 9243 alleged delinquent boys were dealt with by the police officers of Chicago in 1926,¹² and it was found that delinquency was concentrated in the districts marked by poverty and a lack of social organization: 50 per cent of the crime took place in 19.2 per cent of the total city area. Stealing by gangs appeared to be a feature of most criminal behavior.

Gang activities.—Gang life forms the background of much delinquency, and as has already been pointed out, the gang is largely an adolescent phenomenon, originating mainly among boys. It is formed in crowded territories

¹¹ *Biennial Report of the Department of Institutions of Tennessee, 1926–28.*

¹² Shaw, R. C.: "Does the Community Determine Character?" (1) "Delinquency and the Social Situation," *Religious Education*, 1929, 24, pp. 409–417.

where adequate provisions are not present for wholesome play and recreation. Thrasher refers to some studies in Chicago as follows:

The importance of the group factor in juvenile delinquency in Chicago is suggested by a study of 177 boys brought into the Chicago Juvenile Court in one month (August, 1930). In 57 per cent of these cases, the boys were arraigned in groups, while the records indicate that groups were active in many of the other cases, in which only one boy was caught. A similar study of 169 boys for a winter month (January, 1921) suggests the presence of the group factor in 54 per cent of the cases.¹³

The importance of the disorganized and unsupervised gang in the development of juvenile delinquents is further emphasized in pupils' dropping out of school, lack of recreational facilities, poor use of leisure time, lack of parental care and interest, and the like. Some of these points are emphasized in connection with the various factors here suggested.

The School and Delinquency

Its enlarged function.—The school is becoming a potent force in the development and guidance of individual boys and girls into useful and worthy citizenship. It is sometimes thought of as one would think of a life-insurance policy, except that in this case the state pays the premiums and is expecting returns in the form of better and more useful citizenship. One assumption here is that a citizen trained for earning a living will be a better citizen, and the other is that a democratic state cannot afford to be controlled by the will of an ignorant demos.

¹³ Thrasher, F. M.: *The Gang*, p. 377. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

Idleness.—Youths out of work and not in school become potential criminals. The corner gang of loafers which thrives on leisure time and the lack of recreational facilities becomes a good breeding place for juvenile offenders. The school, the parks, and various social and recreational centers under proper care and supervision are powerful agencies, however, in fostering good conduct among unstable adolescents. It was pointed out in Chapter VII that chums are often found in school. Furthermore, studies by Shaw and Myers relative to 6000 instances show, "that in 90.4 per cent of the cases of stealing two or more boys were known to have been involved in the act and were consequently brought into court."¹⁴

Health.—The problem of health in connection with undesirable behavior is receiving more and more attention, as was given special emphasis in the chapter on the hygiene of adolescence. It is attracting the attention of a great number of educational and social workers. Furthermore, the relation between physical and mental well-being and behavior activities is constantly observed by those concerned with the growth and development of boys and girls. The writer recently witnessed a dental clinic in one of the schools of North Carolina, and was interested in the following case:

A girl had been in the sixth grade for three years. She was sixteen years of age and had an intelligence quotient of 90, according to results obtained from the Stanford Revision of the Binet Tests. This girl was given a careful examination for teeth defects, and one of the worst mouths presented in

¹⁴ Shaw, Clifford, and Myers, Earl D.: "The Juvenile Delinquent," *Illinois Crime Survey*, 1929, p. 662.

the school was found; also, her tonsils, probably because of the defective teeth, were enlarged. Remedying the condition of her mouth and tonsils has made for a change in attitude towards school, a more energetic individual, an attentive response, and finally a promotion in school. This pupil was formerly considered a problem by her teacher, but at present the teacher has no especial difficulty with her.

Some characteristics of disciplinary-problem pupils.—

An analysis of the characteristics of the problem child will reveal that in most cases several factors are operating to bring about the undesirable forms of behavior. (This thought is emphasized throughout our study of maladjusted and maladaptive behavior.) Also, data referred to on page 295 show that boys make up most cases of delinquency. Now this same trend is true for disciplinary problems in the general school program. In one study of fairly recent date¹⁵ it was found that "72 per cent of the problem pupils were boys. Nearly one-half of the problem boys and more than one-half of the problem girls were freshmen. . . . The majority of the freshmen were within the compulsory school age."

The natural forces of training, present environment, and physiological conditions are ever operating upon the intercellular and intracellular structures as they grow into a stage of maturity. One will have to study the child in relation to these various forces if an intelligent understanding of the cause of undesirable behavior is to be ascertained. Lowery writes:

Furthermore it is increasingly demonstrable that the reaction possibilities of the individual at any given time are deter-

¹⁵ Coleman, C. T.: "The Characteristics of Disciplinary Problem Pupils in High School," *School Review*, 1930, 39, pp. 434-442.

mined by his entire background—biological stock, physical, mental and social development, and those experiences of life which have helped to mold his personality as it evolved.¹⁶

Qualitative differences in the play life of gifted, average, and subnormal children were pointed out in Chapter VII. The play life of disciplinary problem pupils is often marked by such qualitative differences as: lack of self-control, selfishness, unwillingness to play the game fair, bullying and teasing of younger children, and kindred traits largely related to the emotional life.

In the Coleman study referred to, some results relative to intellectual life that are somewhat typical of the findings of other studies were found. These are in harmony with the general trend of thought concerning qualitative differences in the temperament traits referred to in the preceding paragraph. They are therefore given here for further consideration:

1. Unsatisfactory scholastic achievement accompanied unsatisfactory conduct. Twice as many problem pupils as non-problem pupils have been retarded in elementary school. In high school more than five-sixths of the semester failures were in the problem group.

2. The majority of the leaders in extra-curricular activities were non-problem pupils. Of the pupils included in this study, all who were officers in the student government, a large majority of those who were members of honorary clubs, two-thirds of those who were members of advanced musical organizations, and approximately two-thirds of the boys who had won places on the athletic teams were non-problem pupils.

¹⁶ Lowery, Lawson G.: "Clinical Facilities for the Study of Personality and Behavior Problems in Children," *The Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1930, 151-153, p. 139.

3. A larger number of the problem pupils than of the non-problem pupils were of American descent. The difference between the percentage of the problem pupils and the percentage of the non-problem pupils who were children of American-born parents is 17.6.

4. Finally, the evidence indicates that the problem pupils lacked fundamental qualities of character. They lacked determination. Although of equal intellectual ability, they failed and refailed in more subjects than did the non-problem pupils. . . . ¹⁷

More and more the problem of individual variation is receiving attention in an endeavor to interpret better the cause-and-effect relations in the development of behavior. The results from the study of the New York sub-commission on crime illustrates this tendency in the following summary:

(1) The problem boys were, on the average, duller in intelligence than their normal brothers, the median I. Q. for the problem boy being 75, indicative of bordering intelligence, while the median for the normals was 86, which is indicative of dull intelligence. Thus, border-line intelligence was associated with delinquency. (2) The problem boys were, on the average, inferior to their brothers in grasp of school subjects, their median educational quotient being 81, as compared with 92½ for the non-problem boys. Thus, incapacity in school subjects was associated with delinquency as well as with retarded intelligence. (3) School retardations were, on the average, 2½ times as frequent among the problem boys as among the non-problem brothers. Thus, repeated school failure was associated with delinquency as well as with retarded intelligence. (4) The problem boys were not only superior to their brothers in mechanical ability, but their scores are actually superior to those made by unselected New York

¹⁷ Coleman, C. T.: *Op. cit.*, p. 442.

school children, sixty per cent of the problem boys exceeding the age medians of the latter. Thus, superior mechanical ability in an unfavorable environment was associated with delinquency. (5) The planfulness ability of both the problem and non-problem groups was similar, both being below average, with quotients of 83 and $81\frac{1}{2}$. (6) The two groups were comparable in age, the median age of the problem boys being 15 years and of the non-problem being the same. (7) Delinquent behavior, involving property offenses, was in all instances associated with incorrigible behavior of all other sorts. The young thief was socially ill in a variety of ways. Stealing was merely a symptom of graver and deeper social maladjustment. (8) Superficial probation supervision was in most cases ineffective. (9) Teachers paid slight attention to the individuality of their pupils, recognizing neither their vocational nor personality needs.¹⁸

Dorothy Kinzer Tyson, of the California Bureau of Juvenile Research, noted 33 commonly found behavior traits of delinquent boys. To find the occurrence of these traits in the cottage, the tradeshop, and the classrooms, 246 boys of the Whittier State School were checked. "The ten outstanding traits reported were laziness, disobedience, resentment toward discipline, inattentiveness, quarrelsomeness, lying, swearing, filthy language, instability of mood, and bullying."¹⁹

Sex and Juvenile Crime

Despite the fact that there is almost no type of antisocial behavior committed by one sex that is not

¹⁸ Shulman, Harry M.: "A Study of Problem Boys and Their Brothers by the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects of Crime," Sponsored by the New York State Crime Commission, 1929. (Quoted from *Psychological Abstracts*, March, 1930, No. 1292.)

¹⁹ "How Bad Boys Behave," *The Survey*, January 15, 1931, p. 440.

committed by the other, rather pronounced differences in the modal trends of the delinquencies of the two sexes exist. Here again it appears that such differences as exist are not inherent but only reflect the interaction of the various elements peculiar to the personalities of each sex. Some of the sex differences in offenses will be studied both quantitatively and qualitatively. Data bearing on this problem are not always available; this is especially true for girls, since some states make a tabula-

TABLE XV
OFFENSES OF 28,000 JUVENILE-COURT CHILDREN

<i>Type of Offense</i>	<i>Boys (per cent)</i>	<i>Girls (per cent)</i>
Stealing or attempted stealing.....	41	13
Acts of carelessness or mischief.....	27	7
Truancy or running away.....	15	29
"Ungovernable" or "beyond parental control"...	7	27
Sex offenses.....	2	19
Injury or attempted injury to person.....	3	3
Liquor or drug violation.....	1	1
Other offenses (inc. nature of offense not reported).	3	2

tion of the offenses causing the commitment of boys but show no consistency in the tabulation and classification of crime data for girls.

The data presented in Table XV are taken from the fourth annual report of the United States Department of Labor. They show that stealing and acts of carelessness or mischief were the offenses most often reported for boys, whereas the offenses of girls reported most often were, in order of frequency: ungovernability, sex offenses, running away, truancy, and certain acts of stealing not including automobile theft, burglary, or holdup. These data include both white and colored children: among boys 21.4 per cent of the reasons

reported concerned colored boys, and among the girls 28.2 per cent concerned colored girls. There were not many race differences noted among those committing different types of crime.

Sex differences in offenses committed.—According to reports from the Children's Bureau of Washington, five times as many boys as girls are arraigned before the juvenile courts, the ages for most of these being 14 and 15. The two most common types of offenses by boys as reported for 1928 are stealing or attempting to steal, and acts of carelessness or mischief; while the two most common types by girls are truancy or running away, and ungovernable tendencies.²⁰

The data of Table XVI²¹ are similar in nature to those of Table XV. According to these data, ungovernability, sex offenses, and running away were the crimes most commonly committed by girls. A close analysis of the data for the colored and white girls and boys revealed some minor differences, but in most cases the comparisons are interesting because of the pronounced similarity in trend rather than the differences. White boys, for example, were reported more often for automobile-stealing (6 per cent for the whites and 3 per cent for the colored), while the colored boys were reported more often for other stealing (33 per cent for the colored and 24 for the white).

These data show rather clearly that sex offenses bring many more girls than boys to the courts. A variety of acts of stealing bring boys before the courts, but girls are brought only for miscellaneous stealing.

²⁰ *Sixteenth Annual Report*, 1928, pp. 30-31.

²¹ *Juvenile Court Statistics*, 1930, p. 13.

Some analytic investigations relative to crime committed by girls have indicated, in fact, that sex is much more prominent in their commitments than records show. Many families would say "ungovernable" when the real delinquency is probably sex offenses. It appears, further, that in many cases of ungovernability or running away the sex offense is probably prominent. Although

TABLE XVI

REASON FOR REFERENCE TO COURT OF BOYS AND GIRLS DEALT WITH IN
DELINQUENCY CASES DISPOSED OF BY 88 COURTS DURING 1930^a

	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Number of cases.....	45,374	8,365
Reasons not reported.....	53	18
Reason for reference to court.....	100	100
Automobile-stealing.....	6	(^b)
Burglary or unlawful entry.....	11	(^b)
Holdup.....	1	(^b)
Other stealing.....	26	12
Truancy.....	8	13
Running away.....	5	15
Ungovernable.....	6	25
Sex offense.....	2	21
Injury to person.....	2	2
Act of carelessness or mischief.....	27	8
Traffic violation.....	3	1
Use, possession, or sale of liquor or drugs.....	1	1
Other reason.....	3	1

^a Only 80 of the 88 courts reported girls' cases.

^b Less than one per cent.

a fairly large number of girls are infected, and immorality is admitted by a rather high percentage according to some studies, very few of the delinquent girls have fallen to the level of prostitution.

This is quite an interesting commentary on the whole situation. Again, as was the case in connection with intelligence levels, the records of those actually sentenced will not give a true picture of the sex life of the entire

number of girls appearing before the courts. The salvaging process is again at work, leaving for a final sentence the worst of the group appearing. The data relative to the 138 white women prisoners from North Carolina show that 51 per cent were committed for sex offenses, 18.1 per cent for delinquency, 5 per cent for larceny, and 3.6 per cent for robbery.²² It is quite true, at any rate, that a very great number of the offenses of a non-sexual nature grow out of some sex situation. For various reasons boys of the adolescent age are seldom placed in institutions because of sex experiences, and especially is this true for heterosexual experiences. They, on the other hand, have been held more responsible for their own support, have probably been less protected in the home than the girls, and are faced with certain needs which they attempt to satisfy; hence they develop habits of stealing more than do the girls.

Intelligence and Crime

No criminal type.—It is quite generally believed that most delinquents are feeble-minded or that delinquency and feeble-mindedness practically parallel each other. This belief is exceedingly unfortunate, because objectively obtained and carefully interpreted data do not substantiate it. It arose before modern intelligence tests had been developed or put into such actual, widespread use as would enable those using them to know the true meaning or import of data obtained. Lombroso's now thoroughly disproved idea that there is a definite criminal type did much to make people feel that

²² Ladu, Lena B., and Garrison, K. C.: *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

delinquents and criminals were qualitatively different from those not so branded by the law. His discussion of the stigmata of the criminal type and his description of it as being possessed of "the characters of primitive men and of inferior animals"²³ went far toward making that part of the general public which is attentive really feel that the criminal and delinquent surely must be set apart as a separate type.

While Goring very conclusively demonstrated the falsity of Lombroso's concept of special physical stigmata, he himself is probably in part responsible for the previously mentioned current concept. In fact, though he denies it, he really took over Lombroso's qualitative position, simply substituting the term "defective intelligence" for Lombroso's "defective physique." Lombroso believed that the characteristics that he described were of an atavistic type, and thus inherited; and Goring, as previously mentioned, states that heredity and intelligence are the two main factors that differentiate the criminal from the non-criminal type. Since Goring's method of classifying prisoners by intelligence was wholly subjective, one cannot rely very much on its results.

Goddard's early work.—In America, Goddard more than anyone else is responsible for the quite prevalent idea in some circles that the delinquent is defective. Contrary to his thought, the fact that any one element of personality is associated with crime is not proof in itself that such an element is the sole factor responsible for

²³ Goring, Chas.: *The English Convict*, p. 13. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. (Quoted from an address delivered by Lombroso in 1906 before the Congress of Criminal Anthropology at Turin.)

crime. Granted that mental deficiency is related to inferior social and environmental status, and that a preponderance of crime exists in congested sections of inferior social and environmental status in our cities, and that therefore an abundance of crime is committed by those of defective mental ability—granted this, it does not follow from the mere association of the factors that mental defectiveness is itself a cause of the crime.

Goddard concludes from some rather early studies:

Every investigation of the mentality of criminals, misdemeanants, delinquents, and other anti-social groups have proved beyond the possibility of contradiction that nearly all persons in these classes, and in some cases all, are of low mentality. . . . The greatest single cause of delinquency and crime is low-grade mentality.²⁴

Several investigators early thought these conclusions about delinquency had been based upon a selected group—one that had had superior environmental and educational opportunities. Healy, Bronner, and Miner in America, and Burt in England, made this point. Each conducted studies on the problem, and pointed out the discrepancies existing because of the use of norms not applicable to the group under consideration.²⁵ Miner, who was probably the first to make an outstanding critical evaluation of the fundamentals involved in

²⁴ Goddard, H. H.: *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence*, pp. 72-73. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1920.

²⁵ Bronner, Augusta F.: "A Comparative Study of the Intelligence of Delinquent Girls," Teachers College, *Contributions to Education*, 1914, No. 68; "A Research on the Proportion of Mental Defectives Among Delinquents," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1914. Healy, Wm.: *The Individual Delinquent* (1915). Miner, J. B.: *Deficiency and Delinquency* (1918). Burt, Cyril: *The Young Delinquent* (1925).

early testing procedure, and who called definite attention to the weaknesses of then current diagnostic practices for his own group, found from his studies about 7 per cent who were definitely deficient. This was found also by Burt in his contribution to this work. Healy and Bronner conclude from a study of Chicago and Boston juvenile court cases that the general average intelligence was approximately the same as might be expected for the general population. The feeble-minded, however, appeared some five to ten times more frequently than in the general population.

To a very appreciable extent these differences in findings and interpretations were largely a result of a definition of feeble-mindedness. Terman and Goddard were without doubt basing their conclusions on standards from a select group, and these were too high. However, Zeleny points out:

The recent writings of Goddard and Terman indicate that they have modified markedly their early statements regarding the influence of feeble-mindedness on criminality, and they now recognize the fact that they had judged criminals feeble-minded largely because they were adults rather than because they were criminals.²⁶

Error in sampling.—If one bases his conclusion on children already committed to institutions, it is probably true that intelligence superiority among delinquents is rather rare. (Of course, it must be remembered that this group is not the entire body of delinquents in any state; the entire delinquent group, if *all* delinquents are

²⁶ Zeleny, L. D.: "Feeble-mindedness and Criminal Conduct," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1933, 38, p. 572.

considered, comes very close to being the entire population.) Among institutional cases the per cent of intelligence quotients in excess of 100 is small as compared with the number less than 100; however, for every educational quotient below 70 in the penal institution there can be found dozens, even hundreds, of comparably low-ability persons not in such an institution—and, from the standpoint of behavior activities, no more deserving of being there than the general average of the population. It is probably true, and in most cases properly so, that many juvenile-court judges try to salvage from the human wreckage that is brought to their courts as many as possible who appear promising, or who appear capable of recognizing the nature and consequences of antisocial behavior, can profit from mistakes, and thus give promise of making more adequate adjustments under some sort of supervision outside institutions. But these individuals are in most cases not retarded mentally, and are therefore not counted among the institutional cases: hence counting methods decrease the average mental ability found in our institutions. The Boyntons, working with a younger group of reform-school boys and girls, found that the median I.Q. for boys was around 67 to 69, and the median for girls only a fraction over 61²⁷—but, again, only boys and girls who had been sentenced and confined in the reformatory schools were studied.

²⁷ Boynton, Paul L.: "Mental Development of Twelve-Year-Old Boys in the Kentucky Houses of Reform," *Journal of Delinquency*, 1926, 10, p. 532. Boynton, Juanita Curry: "A Study of Certain Factors Contributing to the Delinquency of Reform-School Girls," *Unpublished Master's Thesis*, University of Kentucky.

There seems to be much evidence for the general concept of Slawson²⁸ that no direct causal relationship between defective intelligence and delinquency exists. In fact, this but further emphasizes a point which was brought out in the preceding chapter. Personality is an integration, a totality; it cannot be explained in terms of one isolated element. Though defective intelligence in one environment may result in a delinquent personality, in another it may be a barrier to the development of delinquency. Of course, some grades of intelligence will yield more quickly to one type of suggestion while others will yield more readily to other types. After all, though, if one is seeking the cause of a given antisocial personality, he must look to all the different elements in the integration and not attempt to explain the deflection in more simple terms than is logically possible.

Nature of the offense.—However, there is a great deal of proof for the generalization that intelligence is related to the nature of offenses. Studies indicate that mental deficiency is more common among juvenile offenders than among adult criminals. Also, the mentally defective tend to commit offenses of a minor nature rather than the major crimes. Two studies carried out under the direction of the writer reveal very clearly that intelligence is associated with types of crime.²⁹ The I.Q. of the female sex offenders studied

²⁸ Slawson, John: *The Delinquent Boy: A Socio-Psychological Study*. Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1926.

²⁹ Ladu, Lena B., and Garrison, K. C.: "A Study of Emotional Instability and Intelligence of Women in the Penal Institutions of North Carolina," *Social Forces*, 1931, 10, pp. 209-216. Ruggles, E. W.: "An Analytic Study of Various Factors Relating to Juvenile Crime," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, 1932, 16, pp. 125-132.

was found to be 83.3 as compared with an average of 86.6 for the entire group. The average I.Q. of the five committing robbery was 99. Ruggles concludes from the study of juvenile male prisoners that "the baser sex crimes are, in the main, committed by the feebleminded."

Psychoneurotic responses and delinquency.—Progress in studying the psychopathic delinquent has been seriously limited in a large measure because of the lack of objective measuring instruments suitable for studying emotional instability, although today we find many instruments available and much work being done in an endeavor to give a better and more detailed picture of the psychopathic child. Too often, the methods have been limited in attempts to discover some physical or organic causes. Recent developments in the field of abnormal psychology emphasize the importance of functional disorders in the development of psychopathic tendencies. In order better to understand the psychoneurotic responses of an individual, one must understand the nature of habit formation, and its operation in the life of the particular subject under consideration. That habits are dynamic drives in nature is well-recognized. Furthermore, the emotional factor as a potent drive was studied in relation to the motivation of behavior. Some workers in the psychoanalytic and other schools have emphasized one or more of the specific primary emotions³⁰ of man as the main driving force in conduct.

Slawson³¹ studied the psychoneurotic responses of delinquent boys from certain schools for delinquency in New York, and compared their responses with those

³⁰ The primary emotions are considered here as *fear, rage, and love*.

³¹ Slawson, John: *Op. cit.*, Chap. IV.

noted by Mathews,³² who worked with non-delinquent boys. From a careful examination of the differences he found the following general facts concerning delinquents:

1. Strong tendencies toward morbid depressions. . . .
2. Marked tendencies to run away from home. These may be expressions of either environmental or constitutional conflicts. . . .
3. Strangely enough there appears no evidence, judging from the responses, that the delinquent boy tends to be an unsocial or "shut-in" type of individual. . . .
4. There appears to be no evidence of an unusual number who are subject to abnormal dream states and disturbances of sleep.
5. Spasms of rage or morbid anger are in evidence.
6. Ideas of persecution are discernibly present.
7. Phantasies are in evidence.
8. The pain threshold is good.
9. A dominating impulse to steal is easily discerned; 50 per cent of the delinquent boys give a positive response to this question, as compared with 6 per cent of unselected boys. . . .
10. A pleasure in hurting someone or something is also noticeably present.
11. Fears and phobias are not much more prevalent among the delinquent group than among the non-delinquent group.
12. Abnormal physical movements and tendencies toward fatigue are prevalent.
13. Pains and physical defects, especially of the sensory organs, are present to a certain extent.
14. Forty-three per cent of the delinquent boys admit in a general way their antisocial tendencies, by claiming to have felt very wicked at one time. . . .

When a mental-hygiene survey was made of 200 unselected prisoners of the Hamilton County Jail in

³² Mathews, Ellen: "A Study of Emotional Stability in Children," *Journal of Delinquency*, January, 1923.

Cincinnati, Ohio, it was found that 23.5 per cent were diagnosed as suffering from some form of mental or nervous disorder, while 35.5 per cent were classed as mentally deficient.³³ In the mental-hygiene survey of 142 inmates of the city jail of St. Louis it was found that 52.1 per cent were suffering from various mental abnormalities, while 8.5 per cent were classed as mentally deficient.³⁴

When we realize that the subject suffering from certain mental defects is living in an unreal world and reacting to hallucinations and delusions as if they were true occurrences, then it is easier to comprehend the causal relation between mental disease and delinquency. The action of a young man arrested for torturing his sister to death, is not inexplicable when it is learned that he is suffering from a delusion in which he has been called upon to offer some human sacrifice from his own kin. Sometimes the chain of events which led to the development of a delusion and finally to crime can be traced, thus showing more definitely the relation between delinquency and mental health.

The study of 138 white women prisoners in North Carolina³⁵ showed further that the baser acts could probably better be explained as a result of emotional maladjustment in that, according to the *Thurstone Neurotic Inventory*, 49 per cent of the women prisoners were considerably maladjusted. Loeb and Leopold, who

³³ *Report of the Mental Hygiene Survey of Cincinnati*, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1922.

³⁴ *Report of a Mental Hygiene Survey of Delinquency and Dependency in St. Louis*, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1922.

³⁵ Ladu, Lena B. and Garrison, K. C.: *Op. cit.*, p. 212.

shocked the entire country with their brutal crime for sport, were probably emotionally maladjusted in search of adventure; both were precocious, and each a university graduate. Hickman, so depraved that his crime caused other prisoners to loathe him, was an honor student of the Kansas City High School.

Summary.—Sex, of course, is a physical characteristic; so is mental ability; and to a degree this is true for other factors related to delinquency. Once more we are brought back to our earlier concept of personality as an integrated expression into which have entered certain mental and physical tendencies which, though basically limited by hereditary factors, are more specifically shaped by environment. There are no scientific studies that have been made by which we can assign a definite weight to each of these various factors. Ample evidence exists that boys commit crime from five to ten times as frequently as girls, and that economic uncertainty at home, usually combined with such other factors as lack of education, inferior social status, a broken home, is related to juvenile crime. Neighborhoods in which there is extreme congestion, lack of wholesome recreational facilities, and a great deal of mobility, tend to be centers where juvenile crime is rather prominent. Truancy, failure in school, conflicts in school, the display of psychoneurotic tendencies, are closely related to the overt acts that are recognized as the beginning of a juvenile criminal career.

Sex alone does not cause delinquency; psychoneurotic tendencies alone do not cause delinquency; inferior intelligence alone does not cause delinquency; delinquency is not inherited; environment considered as an

entirely isolated factor cannot give the whole story of delinquency. The delinquent personality is, in truth, as much a composite expression as the non-delinquent personality, and we do an injustice to any analysis when we consider only one element to the exclusion of all others.

Thought Problems

1. List in order of importance the ten factors that you believe to be most closely associated with juvenile delinquency.
2. Describe some case of a juvenile delinquent that you are familiar with. Can you give the factors in his life that are probably responsible for his behavior?
3. What is wrong with some of the generalizations one might draw from some of the facts presented concerning elements of delinquency?
4. Elaborate on the thought that "badness" in behavior is symptomatic of a great variety of conditions affecting the individual.
5. Account for the increase in crime despite the development of public education.
6. Evaluate the studies relative to intelligence and crime. Cite other studies on this problem.

Suggestions for Reading

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- Owens, A. A.: *The Behavior-Problem Boy*, p. 188. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929.
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- Van Waters, Miriam: *Youth in Conflict*. New York: Republic Publishing Co., 1925.
- Wallin, J. E. W.: *Problems of Subnormality*, Chap. IV. New York: World Book Co., 1921.
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CHAPTER XV

The Control of Juvenile Delinquency

Men and nations can only be reformed in their youth; they become incorrigible as they grow old.—ROUSSEAU

The control of adolescents' behavior activities has already been introduced in many and varied forms. It is directly related to volitional life, to moral and religious development, to development of character and personality, to avoidance of mental disturbances, and finally to guidance. There are two problems of a psychological nature involved in the final control of adolescent behavior, both of which center in the concept of habit formation and integration, which has been emphasized at length throughout this study. The first deals with the establishment of correct or desirable patterns of behavior, while the second, which is negative in nature, has to do with the elimination of undesirable behavior patterns. In the young child we have only the first problem to contend with; but only in an absolutely ideal situation would we find it the sole problem existing in adolescents' behavior.

Youth and crime.—We note that despite almost universal education and the progress of our civilization crime is today an alarming problem. Probably the most disturbing feature is the fact that the majority of the offenders are youths. However, although comparative figures for criminals in 1880, 1890, and 1923 show

an increase in the percentage of prisoners from the youthful group, the percentage of youthful delinquents was large at earlier dates.

It has been commonly and frequently asserted that the boys of today are no worse than their fathers, grandfathers, and sires of a hundred years ago. But the figures tell a sorry story.

An analysis of crime records of eight months by the United States Bureau of Investigation discloses, according to the Associated Press, that more than 39 per cent of the criminals fingerprinted in the country were under twenty-four.

Nearly one in five of all persons arrested were between nineteen and twenty-two, the boys of nineteen holding the ranking position among lawbreakers of all ages. There were 10,926 youths of nineteen arrested, slightly more than 5 per cent of the total number placed under arrest.

Of those arrested for robbery, about one in five were under twenty, while nearly one in three of those arrested for burglary had not yet reached twenty. The number under twenty arrested for automobile theft was 3,066, or 41 per cent of the total.

A little more than 10 per cent of all arrests reported were of persons under nineteen. Some 500 offenses were committed by boys and girls not yet fifteen, the crimes ranging from five murders to 128 thefts and 139 burglaries.¹

On the basis of these facts we hear expressions of despair concerning the youth of today. This is by no means new, as was shown a few years ago by V. K. Froula in his presidential address before the Washington Education Association.²

¹ Quoted from "Teen Age Murderers," *The Literary Digest*, December 17, 1932, p. 17.

² Froula, V. K.: "Education and Public Morals," *Washington Education Journal*, November, 1927.

Permit me to give you an example of a lamentation that is as old as the hills, but sounds like an excerpt from a fundamentalist's sermon: "Our earth is degenerate in these latter days. There are signs that the world is coming to an end. Children no longer obey their parents. The end of the world is manifestly drawing near." The clay tablet upon which this inscription was made 6,000 years ago was found by archæologists somewhere in the Mesopotamian Valley and now reposes in the British Museum with other relics of past times.

The Problem of Prevention

A diagnosis of the causes of delinquency.—The preceding chapter was devoted to this problem, and according to the summary presented on page 307 there can be no single cause listed for all crime, for a major portion of crime, or in most cases for any one crime. Even antisocial tendencies and minor forms of antisocial behavior are conditioned by many forces that have played upon the individual. This is well borne out by the very extensive *Studies in Deceit* conducted by Hartshorne and May.³ Approximately 11,000 children, ranging in age from eight to sixteen years, were tested for cheating, lying, and stealing in work done at home. As many as 29 opportunities for deception were offered, and the various factors connected with deception then studied. Positive correlations were found between deception and age, emotional instability, lower socio-economic status and inferior cultural background, and other undesirable home conditions. Grade retardation was directly related to deception. Honesty

³ Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A.: *Studies in the Nature of Character by the Character Education Inquiry*, I; *Studies in Deceit*, 1928.

was found to be related to good school achievement, desirable home conditions, other desirable habit systems, and more progressive methods in school. Sex, physical conditions, Sunday-school enrollment and attendance, and mere membership in some organization designed to teach honesty, were unrelated to the results obtained from the tests.

Some major factors are prevalent as causative factors in crime, and if society expects to make progress in preventing crime, the trouble must be attacked at its source. It has already been suggested that crime, like the problem of coping with health, may be dealt with either by prevention or by efforts to restrain criminals. From the standpoint of economy, social welfare, and group morale, prevention certainly is more practical. But any program of prevention should be constructed on the basis of a careful diagnosis of causes. Accepting the causes set forth in the preceding chapter as important to means of preventing delinquency, then, we may suggest the methods that seem most suitable in connection with juvenile crime.

The home and delinquency.—In viewing the home as it relates rather directly to the formation of delinquent habits, one should recognize in the beginning that the improvement that can be wrought here is seriously limited by many factors. In the first place, the sanctity of the home and marriage ties gives the home first claim to the development of the child's habit systems. This has been true all through the ages, and is quite fundamental in solving the problem of delinquency through studying the home as an agency quite responsible for it. Again, the secrecy and privacy of the home

as a close-knit institution create the further problem of improving home attitudes and conditions. Thirdly, the child's earliest habits and attitudes are formed almost wholly in relation to or because of a lack of home contacts; the home is a primary group that operates face-to-face with the child over a long number of hours each day of the year. These factors, then, make the home a powerful, well-nigh impregnable force in the development of desirable or undesirable behavior patterns, barriers being set up against the intervention of society for the aid of the child.

What is society to do about the child reared in the utmost poverty and most destitute circumstances? The child reared by parents engaged in illegal or immoral pursuits? The child reared by parents diseased either mentally or physically? These and many other questions show rather definitely that the problem of the home in connection with antisocial tendencies of growing boys and girls is more serious than one might realize.

Woodworth says:

So long as crime is the work of defective or peculiar individuals, we can seek out these individuals early in life and keep watch over them. So far as it is the work of groups or neighborhoods, we can improve those neighborhoods as places for young people. So far as crime is bound up with our imperfect social and economic system, a symptom of disease in the body politic, we have a tremendous problem on our hands which will probably take another century of progress to work out.⁴

Despite the development of the school as a secondary group in which character and personalities are often

⁴ Woodworth, R. S.: *Adjustment and Mastery*, p. 128. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Co., 1933.

guided and molded along varied lines, the home is today the most potent factor in the building of character in growing youths. It is in the home that the child receives true lessons, indirect and systematic but meaningful, presented in the conduct of the father or mother. When the boy learns that the father considers it shrewd to keep extra money given to him by mistake in exchange for goods, to evade taxes, to misrepresent values in a "deal," his ideals are usually being established. The school might furnish ideas, information, and skills to aid one in life's struggle, but the standard of conduct and ideals are really set forth by the examples of parents.

The school and delinquency.—The failure of the junior and senior high schools to adjust their programs in harmony with the interests and abilities of the increasing number of pupils entering high school, is probably the greatest accusation that might be heaped upon them. This failure is probably a result of our democratic ideal's being followed falsely. It should be the aim of the school to give the child the opportunity to develop those abilities that he possesses, rather than to set up a great educational ladder to fit the abilities of all.

Dissatisfaction with school work grows out of one or a combination of several things, among which are: (1) lack of ability to do the work, (2) lack of interest in the work, (3) influence of the home or some companion in connection with the school program, or (4) a general personality conflict with those in charge of the school work that must be met in a face-to-face manner. Truancy from school by one individual and then others is quite often the beginning of mischief that leads to the juvenile courts. Hence the school can, by directing a

part of its attention to problems related to truancy, aid considerably in stopping crime at its very beginning. Truancy and delinquency constitute a problem directly related to educational and vocational guidance, and will receive further treatment in the following chapter on guidance.

The neighborhood.—The social environment of adolescents is not restricted to the home and the school; for another primary determinant, the “neighborhood,” also exerts a powerful influence. It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that the school grade and neighborhood were the great determining factors in the choice of chums. Yet the neighborhood is not only an important factor in the choice of playmates; for its ideals in connection with the community are forces that determine to a large degree the behavior activities of growing boys and girls.

In the preceding chapter the relationship between defective neighborhood conditions and crime was pointed out. Thus the problem of constructing neighborhood conditions so as to reduce considerably the development of juvenile delinquents is a problem of importance for the community, state, and nation. Various civic organizations are now recognizing the importance of desirable conditions in the community for the perpetuation of good citizenship; more emphasis than formerly is being placed on it. For neighborhood factors, unlike home factors, can be more readily conditioned so that the causative elements of crime can be in the main eliminated.

All children, privileged and underprivileged, take what the community offers them. Now it was pointed out in our discussion of social development during

adolescence and of adolescent interests that a widened interest in group activities develops during the 'teen age; the adolescent craves adventure and opportunities to act as an independent human being. Therefore, if the conditions of the neighborhood are such that no supervised opportunities are offered for individual expression and group activities, groups will develop without supervision. Actually, a properly led or conducted gang may do a great deal to prevent delinquency. Within the past half-century civic organizations and neighborhood agencies of various types have fostered the development of the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, camp-fire groups, Hi-Y Clubs, and other organizations designed to direct the adventurous spirit of adolescence into desirable forms of conduct. The gang may resemble the more stable social institutions in that, if it is properly organized and directed, it becomes a powerful influence in the prevention of delinquent tendencies; but if it is improperly directed it is, of course, likely to become a potent force in the development of juvenile delinquency.

Recreational facilities are being developed more and more, and it has been well demonstrated that directed activities through recreational programs will do much towards thwarting the pranks and mischief of adolescents that may not appear bad in themselves but are often quite costly and, still worse, lead too often to dire consequences. The church is beginning to recognize the need for changing its procedure. But here again we find the sin of omission rather than commission. A study of the percentage of criminals who have landed in our reformatory schools who are church members will reveal that the doors of the church have at least

been passed through insofar as joining the church is concerned. However, follow-up work on the part of the church, the provision for recreational and social needs of members, has only recently been realized as essential in the work of the church.

Control and guidance through participation.—The control of the behavior of those persons at each extremity of the range of intelligence is a different problem. Children of inferior mental ability are detected by the beginning of adolescence, if not before; for at this stage certain forms of adjustments and thinking requiring a normal amount of intelligence occur. But the task of restraining behavior-problem children possessing inferior intelligence is very difficult. Certainly one cannot hope to establish very noble or far-reaching ideals in such a group of children; they should be under the constant supervision of society, and their behavior should not be allowed to influence in a detrimental manner the behavior of the great body of average or near-average children.

If we take the other extremity of intelligence, we have the gifted or near-gifted who are able to compete successfully in their school work with the average and still have a great deal of leisure time for other activities. And it is this extra leisure that those dealing with the gifted should consider seriously. Because of the great energy of adolescents, one should and can expect that they are always going to be occupied with something that is in harmony with their interests and general environmental conditions. The personal interest is present in the life of practically all adolescents, and some activity of a personal nature must be pursued. Hence

worthy activities in harmony with the interests and ideals of the child should be made available. Unfortunately, the recreational life of growing boys and girls is likely to be overlooked, and thus their activities may be out of harmony with the ideals sanctioned by society. Atypical adolescents do present real problems to the teacher and to those who direct adolescent groups in general. Patience, forethought, understanding, fair treatment, and differentiated treatment and control should ever be adhered to if the fullest results are to be obtained from the treatment of the individuals of the group.

As one analyzes further the elements involved in social control, one can see them according to both their own intrinsic value for the conscious social individual and their effect on others. Ordinarily, extrinsic social control is emphasized because of the effect of the behavior of the actor upon the group; but the intrinsic value of social control should also be considered. Only through consciously controlling one's actions in the face of obstacles and difficulties will true will-power develop. And the welfare of the individual can be secured only through the welfare of the group. Volitional control can be established for the group only when their *esprit* and sanction are in harmony with action. When the proper intrinsic value has been attained in the life of the individual, the extrinsic value will take care of itself. Conscious social control through participation has already been discussed with reference to club activity, team activity, and other phases of the adolescent's life. This conscious participation, with suggestions as indirect guidance, is the keynote in establishing social volitional control.

Some basic principles.—Success in dealing with a potential adolescent delinquent requires, first, a knowledge of his characteristics; second, a consideration of the habits and experiences that have already been set up; and third, rational treatment in harmony with these principles. With these principles as a basic starting point, the following essentials should be kept more definitely in mind by those concerned with the development of adolescents:

1. Provide the youth with work or a variety of wholesome activities.
2. Develop in the adolescent a balance between work and play activities.
3. Constantly uphold worthy ideals, interests and purposes, by both precept and example.
4. Give the youth a certain amount of controlled freedom along with his responsibility.
5. Develop self-confidence and fair play through successful activities and sympathetic, yet positive, treatment.
6. Deal with positive rather than negative attitudes. "Optimism is a good tonic."

The Problem of Restraint

Discipline and character.—Closely related to the general problem of remedial treatment is discipline. Discipline in connection with antisocial behavior in school, in the home, and on the playgrounds is usually thought of as related to the milder forms of antisocial behavior. Thus, the breaking of some rule at school, the infringement upon the good-will of some other member of the home or school, many acts of mischief, and other forms of behavior many of which are not

necessarily antisocial behavior manifestations, are considered by some one in authority as undesirable and thus the subject concerned is disciplined by some means. Investigations show that more teachers fail in their school work owing to disciplinary problems than to any other single cause.⁵ The problem of discipline as it relates to the development of conduct in harmony with the mores of the group has been recognized in all emotional processes. Needless to say, the method of punishment has varied considerably from period to period. Not quite a century ago was established a rather carefully worked out plan of discipline in our secondary schools. The following is a partial list of punishments that were in effect in an academy in Stokes County, North Carolina, in 1848:⁶

1. Boys and girls playing together.....	4 lashes
2. Quarrelling.....	4 "
7. Playing at cards at school.....	10 "
9. Telling lies.....	7 "
14. Swearing at school.....	8 "
16. For misbehaving to girls.....	10 "
19. For drinking liquors at school.....	8 "
22. For wearing long finger nails.....	2 "
31. For blotting your copy book.....	2 "
33. For wrestling at school.....	4 "
35. For not making a bow when going out to go home.	2 "
43. For not saying "Yes sir" or "No sir," etc.....	2 "
45. For not washing at playtime when going to books.	4 "
46. For going and playing about the mill or creek...	6 "

Modern conceptions of child training lay stress on the fact that morality is not developed by rules, creeds,

⁵ See Buellesfield, Henry: "Causes of Failures Among Teachers," *The Elementary School Journal*, 1915, 1, pp. 439-452.

⁶ Coon, C. L.: *North Carolina Schools and Academies: A Documentary History*, p. 763. (State document, 1915.)

dogmas, or the setting forth of specific amounts of punishment for various acts of mischief. If the disciplinary act strikes deep into the innermost life and feelings of the individual and leads him to recognize that the antisocial behavior act will not be tolerated, probably some good effects will result. But too often discipline is looked upon by the adolescent boy as a punishment for getting caught, or as a means set forth by the teacher or parent for paying for some behavior act—a form of vengeance.

Bad habits are not usually formed overnight, neither are they likely to be broken in so short a period. Like other forms of behavior patterns, changes in conduct follow the general laws of learning and occur gradually. Parents often express amazement at the apparent onset of some maladaptive form of behavior on the part of the growing boy or girl, but usually this maladaptive form of behavior has not been so sudden as it appears. Here is, in most cases, an illustration of the failure of the parent to understand the other habits that have been established prior to the appearance of unadaptive habit. Discipline, if it is to be of value, must (1) be administered in terms of the past life of the child, (2) be based upon understanding rather than emotions, (3) be understood by the subject concerned, (4) relate to the behavior act from which it resulted rather than to the one administering the act, and (5) follow immediately after the act. Discipline is related to conduct in that, through purposive activity, habits of a desirable nature are established and maintained. Discipline is therefore directly related to self-control, and in this all discipline should have both its beginning and its ending.

Guidance in relation to other groups.—If the companions and the play life of the individual are so important in the development of desirable or undesirable behavior traits, it is well to attempt to control, at least in part, these factors. Probably the greatest value to be attained from the adolescent's attendance at Sunday school is the fact that he is likely to be thrown with children who possess desirable behavior patterns. Yet a single child in a community can and often will interfere with the development of the proper habits in the other children; hence supervised play and the general supervision of the activities of adolescents should have as its main purpose the organization of a group into wholesome and desirable activities. Any member tending to interfere with the development of desirable habits in the group should be so supervised that his activities will not help to develop undesirable attitudes in the lives of the other members of the group.

Today we are studying more carefully the problem of juvenile delinquency, and it is fairly well-recognized that if society is to do any constructive work for this group of young offenders it must segregate them from those with more firmly established habits of an undesirable nature. The truant and the juvenile delinquent have not as a rule developed such habits as are firmly established and beyond modification. Still it must not be overlooked that the influence of members of the group upon each other is also likely to be detrimental. Probation, with reward for good conduct, should be offered in our dealings with adolescents who have established undesirable traits. We should "make sure of the nature of the urge back of an undesirable act and then . . .

furnish the child with a more desirable outlet at the same time that the undesirable one is blocked."⁷ The delinquent child can be trained, for he is a plastic individual in whom undesirable habit patterns have been developed. Certain motivating forces are already operating in bringing about specifically desired ends, and once we decide upon what ends ought to be desired, through substitutions desirable activities can well take the place of undesirable ones.

In the treatment of the juvenile offender two problems are encountered: (1) the welfare of the group and (2) the restraint of the offender. The first of these is primarily a social problem, and since our social structure is so definitely related, this should receive major interest and effort. But the habit system of the juvenile offender is plastic, and through proper guidance and training he may well be made an individual that will take his place in society as a desirable citizen. The restraining phase is to be considered as an individual rather than a social problem.

Satisfying activities.—The value of the positive phase of conduct has already been emphasized, especially for the endeavor to establish desirable forms of behavior. Various types of rewards, either direct or indirect, are constantly being introduced in the effort to relate the element of satisfaction with the performance of the desired act. When undesirable behavior is allowed to bring about satisfaction or reward, this will naturally be the form of behavior established. Situations should

⁷ Morgan, J. J. B.: *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child*, p. 289. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924.

be so set up that there is a natural reward for doing the desirable thing. This reward, in the case of adolescents, may be of an abstract nature involving ideals and attitudes of a worthwhile and wholesome type. It has been found that beliefs are directly related to desires; thus one can well say that ideals are directly related to desires. Desires are established in part through a conditioning and directing of the natural impulses of the individual along lines in harmony with the ideals set forth by the group. Desires can and should be guided; but this guidance can not best secure its end unless the desires are established in relation to situations for which there is an ultimate reward or form of satisfaction.

Adolescents should come to learn through experience that antisocial conduct leads to their own misery and unpleasant experiences. As it is, satisfaction in the form of the group's approval, attention, mastery, and other forms is often the outcome of antisocial conduct, and in consequence the individual too often develops antisocial habits. This is especially true for such acts of adolescent boys in gangs as cursing, destruction, defiance of authority, and various acts of mischief—many activities of the "good sport" would likely fall in this category. Satisfying activities should be related to those virtues that are set up by the group in harmony with the interests and welfare of society. And this is the aim of many educators of today.

Self-realization.—The juvenile delinquent should not be led to believe that he is suffering from a condition beyond cure: he should realize that he is indeed very similar to those who are not classed as delinquents.

What he should know is his point of weakness. The concept of self-analysis brought out in an earlier chapter should here again be introduced and practical results obtained from its administration. The child should be led to realize that happiness, reward, and ultimate success are to be gained through desirable traits. He should come to realize that those dealing with him are neither spies nor policemen, but individuals interested in the welfare of the group.

Again, the responsibility for the reward and satisfaction to be gained from group participation should be placed in the hands of the individual concerned. Those in charge should lead him to realize that he is somewhat on probation and that he is expected to try to do the right thing in order that he may be happier and the group be generally better off. The important thing is to realize the point of weakness, to recognize that habits are built up through practice, and to be motivated towards the strengthening of good habits.

The adolescent is likely to resent authoritative control. The self-conscious attitude so clearly displayed at this age of life tends to mark him as an individual on the alert, watching for someone to consider him as a child and thus to boss him around. He is idealistic in nature and expects the teacher to play fair with him in his activities; he may question many of the procedures of the teacher for this reason. His personal manner of regarding everything as directed towards the self is a factor that should be watched. The adolescent is impulsive, oversensitive, and impressionable to mistreatment or unfair dealings. He will respond to group ideals, for his idealistic sense leads him to accept some-

what uncritically the will of his frequently unguided fellow companions.

Summary.—Whatever method society might endeavor to formulate in dealing with the delinquent adolescent should embody the following general concepts:

1. Reward for the desirable act and a form of disapproval and probably punishment for the undesirable act.

2. A self-realization on the part of the individual of his possibilities for good behavior.

3. A segregation of those with undesirable traits, so as to eliminate their influence upon the individual with desirable traits.

4. A separate method of control for the feeble-minded.

5. Worthwhile and probably gainful activities in harmony with certain needs and interests of the subjects concerned.

6. Punishment should not be administered in a spirit of anger or vengeance.

7. Confidence and fairness of those dealing with the subjects as to the outcome of efforts directed in the right manner along the correct path.

In answer, then, to the second general question that this chapter is concerned with—What is the cure?—one may say: there is no general cure; no formula can be found that will remedy all the problems of the juvenile delinquent.

This much is certain, however, that the delinquent should not be given such punishment as fits the offense, but rather should he be taken care of in a manner best suited to meet the particular needs of the child, to the end that his faults may be corrected, that he be restrained as quickly as possible.⁸

⁸ Nelson, Joseph E.: *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

Thought Problems

1. How is volition related to delayed reactions? How is this related to the prevention of crime?
2. Suggest activities that would aid the adolescent in developing self-control?
3. Under what conditions would you justify punishment for undesirable behavior of adolescents? Illustrate.
4. Under what conditions would you justify punishment for feeble-minded offenders during adolescence?
5. In what ways might the bright child be a real problem to the teacher?
6. Contrast the mental attitude of the adolescent of today with the mental attitude of the adolescent of a century ago.
7. What do you consider the purposes of pupil participation in government? How do you evaluate these purposes?

Suggestions for Reading

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CHAPTER XVI

Guidance

The philosophy of guidance.—The conception which one holds regarding the nature of the individual's development will largely determine his point of view on the guidance of youth. At the one extreme are those persons who hold that the individual should receive a minimum of guidance, while at the other are those who hold that the life of the individual is ordered by his experiences and that for this reason he should receive a maximum of guidance. These two points of view are based on fundamentally different psychological conceptions of the nature of the individual and of his development. Those who hold that development is largely a matter of simply allowing the child to blossom forth, as it were, are in the main vitalists in their philosophy of development. They want the individual to *choose* for himself—whatever this may mean. They are willing to have the child guided with respect to a few things and, in fact, often insist that their point of view be the one into which the child is guided. Such guidance is nothing more nor less than propagandizing. At the other extreme are those people who have an absolute mechanical conception of the individual, and who urge that the curriculum be so selected as to provide for all the specific skills and attitudes that the child will need in later adult life. These, it is believed, should be fixed through specific drills and exercises.

We thus have on the one hand those who think the individual is merely an unfolding of hereditary determiners, and on the other those who feel that the life of the individual must be definitely fixed through specific guidance and training. It is difficult to say which view of the individual is the more distorted or which is the more stultifying to the intellectual and moral development of the nation.

Authorities in the field of psychology base their notions of guidance on the view that the individual is a result of hereditary potentialities which have become organized in harmony with environmental stimuli, which have modified the individual's organic structure. It is impossible to give the same training to each individual in a group because of the large differences in interests and abilities usually found in groups. It should be emphasized that in guidance it is necessary to study each individual and adapt methods and material to suit him. Each child is unique, and no preconceived notion with regard to materials and methods will suit any one. And it is impossible to think in terms of individual needs without at the same time taking into consideration: (1) the sex of the individual, (2) his chronological age, (3) his physiological development, (4) his mental ability, (5) his physical condition, (6) his special weakness and special abilities, (7) his general attitudes, (8) his educational achievements, (9) his personal habits, (10) his interests, and (11) his home environment.

That the problem of guidance of junior and senior high-school boys and girls is receiving more and more attention is verified by some recent findings from ques-

tionnaires returned by 150 cities relative to the work they are doing in this field.¹ Of these cities 99 had counselors, and in 61 of these the counselors taught classes in occupations. The need of guidance in relation to the curriculum, personality adjustment, and occupational orientation is rather carefully pointed out. Some of these points will be considered briefly later in this chapter.

An enlarged concept of guidance.—A. J. Jones says, "The general objective of all guidance is to assist the individual to make his choices intelligently,"² and with this enlarged concept this chapter on guidance is in accord.

Throughout our discussion of the development, change of interest, moral growth, personality changes, and other problems of the adolescent, the concept of totality has been adhered to. In relation to growth it was pointed out that, though there may be a lack of rate uniformity in the growth of various parts of the body, this growth is constant, continuous, and interrelated. In the discussion of motivation it was stated that social approval becomes integrated early with those major biological forms of motivation, sex and hunger. In relation to interests the viewpoint presented was: "The interests of the high-school boys and girls are therefore within the limit of their training and environment

¹ "Vocational Guidance" (Report of the sub-committee on Vocational Guidance; M. Edith Campbell, Chairman), Section III, *Education and Training*, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1932.

² Jones, Arthur J.: *Principles of Guidance*, p. 53. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1930.

always limited by their physiological development, and their innate ability." In relation to the delinquent it was stated: "The delinquent personality is, in truth, as much a composite expression as is the non-delinquent personality, and we do an injustice to any analysis when we consider one element to the exclusion of all others."

Thus the unity of the growing organism during the period of puberty has been emphasized throughout this study of the adolescent, and now may form a basis for a consideration of guidance. Hence in the guidance program we are concerned with the individual pattern resulting from a combination of all the elements referred to on page 331. As we review the various types of guidance, it must be remembered that no sharp line of distinction can be drawn between them. The individual pupil needs information on all; each stresses individual initiative and responsibility; and all stress the importance of volition, or self-control, and rational behavior. Especially is the truth of this latter statement apparent when we realize that guidance is concerned largely with making rational decisions. It is during the formative stage of life's patterns that guidance is most needed. Brewer gives the following problems which young people face today in their environment:

Making satisfactory progress in school, working out home adjustments, behaving properly as junior citizens, using leisure time well, deciding what occupation to enter, caring for their personal well-being efficiently, practicing righteousness in conduct, and learning to get along with other people.³

³ Brewer, J. M.: *Education as Guidance*, p. 55. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932. (Quoted by permission of the publishers.)

It is not within the province of this chapter to outline a guidance program, or even to give a complete account of the applications of the principles of guidance to all phases of life; our purpose is rather to guide the reader in recognizing the importance of adolescent guidance and some of the elements involved in it.

Guidance in relation to the educational process.—The objectives of adolescent guidance must find their counterparts in the objectives set forth in the education of growing boys and girls. An analysis of these objectives will aid considerably in setting forth the true purposes of guidance, which have been stated in various ways, but most notably as: "health, command of the fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure time, ethical character." Four aims recently proposed by various students of education include: (1) Civic-social-moral, (2) physical (health), (3) vocational, and (4) recreational.⁴ These four objectives might be thought of as four large divisions of life activities, each related to the other.

Concerning guidance as it relates to these life activities, Kefauver and Hand say:

Guidance, then, will have contributions to make to education for social, health, recreational, and vocational activities. One might appropriately refer to guidance in relation to each of these objectives as social, health, recreational, and vocational guidance. A combination of these four objectives constitutes the objectives of the total educational program. Similarly, a combination of the four types of guidance would give us the total guidance program of the school. This total concept

⁴ Koos, L. V.: *The American Secondary School*. New York: Ginn & Co., 1927.

might be characterized as educational guidance—that which serves all parts of the educational program.⁵

The problem of guidance in connection with health and with juvenile delinquency was considered in Chapters XIII and XV. Educational guidance, problems connected with the school program, vocational guidance, moral guidance, and sex guidance will be studied here. That these are related to health and desirable social guidance is quite obvious; however, some problems are here considered that are more specifically related to educational, vocational, civic-moral phases of life.

Educational guidance.—The preceding chapters of this text have portrayed the nature of the adolescent subject, especially in relation to the educability of junior and senior high-school boys and girls. It has been pointed out that during adolescence individuals are: (1) in a process of physical, mental, and emotional growth, (2) in a state of change of interests and ambitions, (3) in a state of changed social attitudes, and (4) forming and fixing various attitudes towards life.

“As preparation for an occupation involves decisions in the choice of studies, choice of curricula, and the choice of schools and colleges, it becomes evident that educational guidance must be considered a part of vocational guidance.”⁶

By studying this statement we shall see the close relation between educational and vocational guidance. However, while vocational guidance is important, in

⁵ Kefauver, G. N., and Hand, H. C.: “Objectives of Guidance in Secondary Schools,” *Teachers College Record*, 1933, 34, p. 381.

⁶ *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, 1929, 7, p. 219.

itself it represents only one of several groups of activities that the school aims to aid in developing, as was stressed in an earlier part of this chapter relative to *an enlarged concept of guidance*. Educational guidance must first of all depend upon a broad yet definite philosophy of education, indicated by the aims of education set forth in the preceding topic. Educational guidance, thus, is a necessary element in the total guidance program, and has been considered, at least indirectly, in the more specific discussions of civic-moral, vocational, health, or social guidance. In the discussion on guidance as it applies to some specific phase of the adolescent's life, it becomes necessary to point out the need of educational guidance and development. The alert teacher concerned with vocational guidance will aid the pupil in various activities—(1) to gather information concerning various occupations in order that he can arrive at a more rational decision concerning the vocation he intends to follow; (2) to understand better the nature and possibilities of the offerings of the high school and the nature of the different curricula; (3) to select a curriculum in harmony with his needs and ability; and (4) to assist him in finding information relative to the opportunities presented through the curriculum.

The characteristic differences of dull and bright pupils make it apparent that they should be directed and guided accordingly in certain phases of the school program. The superiority of the bright student in the ability to coördinate a number of functions, to generalize, to do abstract thinking, to reason, and to grasp principles and apply them is sufficient evidence that his educational pursuits need not be as concrete, as practical, as specific,

TABLE XVII

CHARACTERISTIC DIFFERENCES OF DULL AND BRIGHT PUPILS⁷

<i>Dull</i>	<i>Bright</i>
1. Inability to coördinate two or more mental functions	1. Ability to coördinate any number of functions
2. Difficulty in assimilation	2. Ease of assimilation
3. Learning through detailed, simple material	3. Ability to generalize, pick up clues from less concrete materials
4. Short attention span	4. Sustained attention
5. Slow reaction time	5. Quick reaction time
6. Restricted curiosity and limited initiative	6. Intellectual curiosity and initiative
7. Limited imagination	7. High imagination
8. Personal viewpoint	8. Broadminded impersonal attitude toward problems
9. Dependence on criticism and approval of others	9. Self-criticism; intellectual approval highly satisfying
10. Lack of appreciation of intellectual humor	10. Sense of humor
11. Trouble with language symbols	11. Keen language ability
12. Narrow interests	12. Versatility and vitality of interests
13. Slow reading habits	13. Rapid reading habits
14. Dependence on others to show application of previously learned experiences	14. Sensitivity to application of knowledge
15. Inadequate memory for abstractions	15. Logical and accurate memory
16. Observation without generalization	16. Close observation
17. Immediate recall	17. Delayed recall
18. Judgment on inadequate data	18. Ability to reason without going through concrete experiences; suspended judgment until necessary data are in
19. Better performance through repetition without much attention to principles	19. Better performance through understanding principles
20. Emotional bias in action	20. Rationalized feelings
21. Insensitivity to intellectual and esthetic elements in a situation, unless pointed out by others	21. Sensitivity to intellectual and esthetic elements in a situation

⁷ Adams, Fay, and Walker, Brown: *Teaching the Bright Pupil*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930.

and as simple in nature as those for the dull student. And this implies a certain amount of differentiation, qualitative and quantitative, in the nature of materials that will be commensurate with the abilities and interests of subjects who vary considerably in mental capacity.

Educational guidance of the bright child.—The principles of educational guidance set forth in the preceding paragraph are fundamental and apply to all high-school pupils. However, there are a few facts relative to bright and subnormal pupils that need further emphasis. According to the figures, presented in Table XII, of special classes, there are very few of the bright pupils being cared for properly. This does not mean that many are not being guided and cared for by other means. Advisors of superior students must consider not only the student's mental characteristics, as set forth in Table XVII, but must furthermore consider his interests, past experiences, health, physiological development, and any other factors that bear upon his personality pattern.

Educational guidance of the subnormal.—In any consideration of the subnormal mind, one must remember that any line used to divide the normal from the subnormal is more or less arbitrary. Since the advent of the testing movement, a tremendous amount of work has been done in the measurement of the intelligence of school children, but although a great deal of work relative to the subnormal mind is now in progress, the educational adjustment of the inferior mind is still badly neglected. Massachusetts has probably made more progress in this general connection than any other state. In January, 1927, 118 towns in Massa-

chusetts were supporting a total of 400 special classes for retarded pupils, which classes enrolled nearly 6000 children. Wyoming, in 1925, had 78 children enrolled in special classes for every 10,000 children between the ages of seven and fifteen. In 1928 Massachusetts had 90 children enrolled in special classes for every 10,000 school children.

It is essential that children distinctly inferior be given materials in harmony with their abilities. Such materials must be simple, direct, concrete, and familiar in nature. And since these materials must be concrete and familiar, and principles must be developed in a direct manner, it becomes essential that a special type of instruction on a simpler and narrower basis be set up.

Vocational guidance.—The fundamental differences between the problems of livelihood which confronted the primitive adolescent and those confronting the adolescent in civilized society of today are: (1) Specialized training in the highly developed fields of human endeavor has become essential for the pursuit of a livelihood. (2) The great differentiation of work brought about by specialization gives a diversity of advantages to different types of work and different abilities. (3) Vocational prospects of girls have broadened so as to include economic worth and individual ability in the main, rather than a sharp line of division on the basis of sex.

Just when vocational guidance had its beginnings is hard to say. It is doubtless as hard to trace as any of the activities of man. The child has followed in the footsteps of the parent or has been taught by another through all the ages. In tribal life it was the best shooter in the tribe who taught the others how to shoot.

All through the early development of the history of education we find traces of suggestions to others who might wish to accomplish what had previously been done. We find many references in the works of Socrates (469–399 B. C.), Plato (427–347 B. C.), and Aristotle (384–322 B. C.) to the necessity of directing individuals in the choice of their life work. In fact, a considerable discussion of this point appears in Plato's *Republic*, particularly in Books 5, 6, and 7.

There is a common notion that in some mysterious manner one can look into the future, determine what he would like a particular child to be, and then, irrespective of individual aptitudes and abilities, prepare him specifically for that occupation. Another common misconception existing among some poorly informed groups is that one can look into the individual's eyes, or examine the general configuration of the head, and on the basis of such specific physical characteristics and general observations ascertain the ability the individual has and the line of activity he should follow. This latter notion held sway among certain scholastic groups following the faculty psychology of Wolff (1679–1754), and the phrenology of Gall (1808) and of scholars following him. Modern advancements in the biological sciences have tended to discredit these very unscientific methods of arriving at an estimate of the individual's abilities, and to place the evaluation of human achievement and human abilities on a scientific basis. Furthermore, job analysis has advanced to such a stage that in a limited measure it is known within what limits of abilities one can hope to succeed in this or that task and to know further what special abilities are essential for success in the field.

One cannot merely apply some scientific formula in the direction of all individuals. The problem of individual variation, which has been emphasized throughout this discussion of the adolescent, must ever be kept in mind as the problem of guidance becomes further involved. In the first place the social life will weigh heavier in the choice of a vocation and in the attainment of ultimate happiness for one individual than for another. Again, rivalry is much more important as a motivating factor for some individuals than for others. Data are of value only as they help in evaluating the subject's abilities, interests, and attitudes, and as they pertain to some field of activity being studied. A balanced personality, happy and successful on a job within the level of his ability, should be the goal of vocational guidance.

During the past several years there has been a consistent effort, through the use of educational, intelligence, aptitude, interests, attitude, and other tests and rating scales, better to guide our adolescent boys and girls into activities in keeping with their interests and abilities. The problem of guidance is coming to have a more and more important part in the general plan of colleges and universities. Here there is a growing attention to the orientation of students and to the testing of college freshmen in order that they may be better guided and adjusted with relation to college work. It should also be noted that there are marked developments in the field of personnel guidance as it relates to better adjustment and to vocational guidance. The aim here is to aid the student in finding the ultimate place in life where he will attain the mutually related elements of *happiness* and *success*.

Social factors and vocational guidance.—All studies of the occupational preferences of high-school boys and girls will show that the professions and “fad” choices in harmony with the time are chosen by a rather large percentage. These have offered very great social advantages to the maturing individuals. A study of the reasons for choices of professions on the part of such a large number of maturing boys and girls (at least indirectly for girls, as in their wanting to marry someone in a profession) will show the social factor to be very prominent. Arnold⁸ made a careful study of the influence of certain social factors upon the success of vocational guidance during adolescence, 102 subjects who had received vocational advice being taken. He found that previous plans and earlier interests would tend rather seriously to keep the subjects from following the recommendations made. Children who had presented behavior problems were not inclined to follow the recommendations—especially if the general confidential and coöperative attitude could not first be gained. Children of superior intelligence, also, are often not prone to follow recommendations set forth. Many of these subjects pursued activities out of harmony with their innate ability or general ability, usually because some socializing force had built up a potent drive in the form of a habit pattern, or was a direct drive in itself, that caused the individual to react selectively and interestedly to a situation out of harmony with his ability. In general this phenomenon is probably unusual, for ability

⁸ Arnold, C.: “Social Factors: Their Influence on the Success of Vocational Guidance of Adolescents,” *Welfare Magazine*, 1928, 19, pp. 85–96.

tends to breed interest, and success over obstacles develops will-power, persistence, self-control, initiative, etc., provided such character traits tend to bring satisfaction and are in line with activities in which the subject has developed an interest.

Children who come from families whose economic circumstances are quite favorable are likely to fall into some activity out of harmony with their ability and are also likely to refuse to follow vocational advice.

Student choices and opportunities.—It has already been stated that high-school students in general prefer the professions for their life work. This preference is tending at the present time to crowd the professional fields of endeavor and has forced them at times almost unwarrantedly to raise their standards.

As we have suggested, when boys over fifteen or sixteen years of age are interested in becoming a lawyer, doctor, preacher, or some other professional man, but are advised to enter some mechanical type of activity which is more in harmony with their abilities, they may often resist such advice. The writer has in mind a young man who went to one of the leading universities of the South to study for the ministry. He had had a vision, according to his story, when about fourteen years of age, and at that time was "called" to preach. Upon reaching the university, he was given the test for all freshmen and fell in the lowest 10 per cent of the group. Moreover, he was found to be quite deficient in languages, and at the end of the fall term he failed in over one-half of his work, especially in language work and work requiring a form of abstract thinking. He was then given various tests to reveal further facts concerning his innate and

acquired ability or abilities, and on the basis of the results from these tests was advised to follow a line of work requiring mechanical ability and not too much abstract thinking and analyzing. This he did not wish to do, because it was out of harmony with his vision and the social position in the community as minister that he desired. After it was shown to him that some other forms of activity would fit him very well for a special place in the community and give him good standing if he were successful, and after the new line of activity was made to square with the vision, he was more willing to follow the recommendations.

Now it is at the latter point that a great deal of vocational advice fails. The individual tends to picture his chosen work from the viewpoint of those who are highly successful in the work; he does not see the failures and hardships. The professions are held up as clean, honorable, easy, with good pay and a great deal of social prestige; the more mechanical activities are conceived of as laborious and dirty, unskilled, inferior in social status and in pay. This division, although existing before the day of the trained engineer and farmer, is not so true today; but the line of demarcation has been set up in part in the minds of the larger number of boys and girls. One of the most prominent developments in recent years in connection with the expansion of education is the raising of so many other lines of human endeavor to a class close to the professions.

Not only is the discussion here presented true for young men; similar factors are true also for high-school girls. Vocational guidance in the past has been rather meager, and almost exclusively for men, but today it is reaching

even into the lives of high-school girls. Observe the large number of girls occupied at various pursuits; notice the many lines of endeavor of women. With the inclusion of so many activities within woman's domain, and with their acceptance as desirable social positions, they have become quite filled with young women. Vocational guidance, then, has a prominent place for the young women of tomorrow. Yet there is no doubt that home-making and the various phases of life that go with it will continue to play an ever-increasing, though changing, rôle in the life of the girl and in the educational process. For vocational guidance should be directed towards both the clarifying of impressions already existing and the setting forth anew of certain ideas.

Vocational guidance and self-analysis.—It has already been pointed out that a self-inventory of character traits is desirable, if one desires to improve character. This same formula can well be applied in vocational guidance. It is directly related to job analysis, however, and for more thorough information the student is referred to work in this specialized field.

Many mistakes in guidance are caused by the subject's refusal to face reality and by the failure of others to deal honestly with him. Students should be led to realize that they have limitations, yet that few, if any, ever reach the end of their limitations. The student should be guided in making an analysis of his strong points and also of his weak points. He should ask himself the question: Are my qualifications such that I will be happy and successful in this or that line of work? And in order to make a careful analysis so that he can answer the question, the subject should know himself

and should know something of the different occupations or phases of life he is considering. His task is to arrive at a vocational decision that is rational rather than based upon chance or on certain irrelevant, emotionally toned factors.

Following are some self-analysis questions that might be of value in making such an analysis:⁹

1. What studies interest you most?
2. Are you studious by nature, or does studying come hard to you?
3. What claims most of your attention in school—your studies, or outside activities (social, athletic, etc.)?
4. Do you “get by” in school work with little or no study, or do you have to plug hard in order to pass?
5. Do you like to draw? freehand? mechanical?
6. Do you like music? What instrument do you play, if any?
7. Are you timid, a “go-getter,” or neither?
8. Are you strong physically?
9. How do you spend your spare time?
10. Do you get along well with others and they with you?
11. Do you stick to an idea or to a certain job until the end, or are you easily discouraged?
12. Can you work well under high pressure or do you work better when you have time and leisure?
13. Have you a good memory for names? for faces? for facts? for figures?
14. Are you tactful, or do you say what you think without consideration of effect?
15. Do you take pride in your personal appearance, or are you satisfied with “good enough”?
16. Do you enjoy meeting strangers?
17. Are you systematic in your work, or otherwise?

⁹ Adapted from a list suggested by E. W. Boshart, of North Carolina State College.

It is well for the student to have others evaluate his abilities, interests, etc. These evaluations should be used as a further basis for checking one's assets, and thus determining more accurately one's qualities as they relate to the occupations under consideration. It is here that knowledge of occupations is of fundamental importance. Needless to say, such knowledge is an accumulating part of the individual's growth; but beginning at about the seventh grade, more definite and better organized guidance should be given. Orientation courses in occupational information are being given in many of the more modern types of junior high schools.

Much literature is available dealing with occupational-information analysis. Of course, a careful analysis of the self in relation to occupational requirements is the primary aim in vocational guidance. Again, vocational guidance must not, and if properly carried out will not, fail to include in large measure the element of human happiness. This will constantly be considered in any guidance or consideration of an individual's adaptability for a specific vocation. Other factors that must not be omitted are: satisfaction, success, and a reasonable amount of comforts. For these are necessities above a mere mechanical fitness.

Sex guidance.—It has been emphasized in this discussion that high-school boys and girls are constantly facing new situations and new stimuli, and the sex drive is becoming very potent in their lives. Here, then, we may concern ourselves with the larger problem of the guidance and direction of the sex drive along social rather than antisocial lines. This problem is related closely to juvenile crime and also to the hygiene of

adolescence, as is quite apparent to those who have studied and worked with adolescents, but we shall limit the discussion here to the guidance of the sex impulse as it relates to general guidance during adolescence.

A common assumption has been that the sex drive is in itself inherently antisocial and must therefore be either held in restraint or given some abnormal outlet. Sex, like any other physiological drives, may become a constructive force for the socialization of the individual only through the proper guidance and direction of the subject into experiences that will tend to integrate his drives into conformity with the group. One can no more assume that the sex drive if undirected will become a constructive social force than that the airplane will always be used for transportation rather than for destroying life in time of war. In order to determine whether or not the sex drive is to be constructive, the social factor as well as the biological one must be taken into account. Hence the sexual guidance of adolescents is indeed important; from the viewpoint of the welfare and morale of the group it also demands the greatest care and understanding.

Sexual symbolism and references in methods of adolescent training that have been and to some extent are still being used indicate how sex guidance of some kind has always been recognized as important in the development of worthy men and women. Sex guidance is directly related to mental hygiene as presented in Chapter XIII, which points out how the individual may be directed towards a better understanding of and adjustment to sex situations. In fact, sex instruction and guidance are directly related to the educational, social,

and vocational adjustment of adolescent boys and girls. Probably the main reason why mental disturbances are closely related to sex maladjustments is that society has constantly avoided overt acknowledgment of the facts of sex.

One hears now and then of freakish and frightful lectures on sex that are given to adolescents. These lectures are usually of the propaganda type and discriminate poorly between factual and non-factual materials; they are designed to appeal to the emotions, especially to fear, and very frequently do more harm than good. Too often guidance of adolescents has been of this type rather than of an instructive nature, and frequently fear tendencies manifested in shame, worry, and inferiority complexes have their beginning with such teachings.

One place where teaching can be conducted wholesomely is the school. The teacher should not be constantly trying to make an especial point of sex advice and guidance, but sometimes, as in science classes and in play life, the need of facts presents itself along with the opportunity to give the facts under wholesome stimulation. The vocabulary, in the case of science materials, will likely be already developed, and the facts can be presented as openly as any other scientific facts. The mental attitude assumed in a good science class is the one that should be assumed towards sex matters, and the materials should be discussed just as other life problems are discussed.

Supplementary lessons by workers such as girls' or boys' advisors, leaders of boys and girls, etc., may be very valuable. Only on rare occasions should boys and

girls be segregated when sex problems are dealt with. After certain problems have been considered in class, they should be dropped from the general work of the class like other topics, and again reviewed like other topics. Also, boys and girls should be led to recognize the sex drive as a natural drive that must be controlled for both the welfare of the individual and the welfare of the race. The significance of customs as uniform modes of behavior passed down from generation to generation is not to be jeered at or challenged without thought. Adolescents will quite readily respond to suggestions, and laugh at the ridiculousness of various customs; yet customs must be thought of as existing not merely for the sake of uniformity, but rather as uniform modes of action which in most cases have been established for the best interest of the group.

Private conferences and advices should be encouraged. These can be developed only when the students have confidence in and respect for the one from whom they seek advice. The boys and girls should be taught to seek advice concerning problems that they do not understand or that may be worrying them. They should come to understand sex problems as a natural outcome of certain organic developments and conditioning processes set up in their life. It will, indeed, be only through the sympathetic understanding of these problems, on the part of the counselor, that the adolescent will profit from the conferences. If the counselor takes a too critical attitude towards problems, the next time problems arise in their minds the boys and girls will tend to hold their questions in abeyance. And here may be the beginning of worries and conflicting tendencies. Certainly, probably one of

the greatest values of certain organizations from the standpoint of the welfare of the individual is that they afford him a means of casting aside worries and troubles. The conferences can afford a place where growing boys and girls can find sympathetic and understandable counsel. There is no doubt that the teaching of Hell and eternal damnation will often tend to accentuate the troubles existing rather than to help the child to enlightened understanding. Sex guidance must grow through encouragement. And it will be effective when understood in the light of modern psychology, and sought after when the individual recognizes the counselor as a friend rather than a critic or detective. As Elliott says:

Taken alone, the sex impulse is not social or ethical, and expressed as an isolated factor, it is bound to make for dissatisfaction and for destructive relationships. But taken in relation to the other impulses and needs of human nature, it can give drive and dynamic to the whole. It is for education, then, to socialize it without destroying it. This means positive education in place of the negative and evasive programs of the past. It means the control coming from a desirable goal rather than that from fear. It means full and complete sex information for children and adolescents and a new responsibility for full information for the engaged and newly married. It means sharing with youth the wonder of successful sexual relationships by those who are living or have lived life fearlessly and honestly. It means the explanation to youth of the conditions under which such experience is likely to be possible. Rather than to confuse individuals as to the meaning of the impulses with which they are dealing, it is the function of education and of religion to assist in the discovery and achievement of happy sex adjustment.¹⁰

¹⁰ Elliott, Grace Loucks: "Sex as a Constructive Social Force," *Mental Hygiene*, 1930, 14, pp. 335-340.

Moral guidance.—Many contacts are being made between the boys and girls of yesterday and those of today. Much discussion is centered in the social problems that society is confronted with at the present time. Various reports by committees on education emphasize the value of moral efficiency. Mrs. Griffin¹¹ states rather clearly and concretely the meaning of moral efficiency by saying what is required of one to be morally efficient. She says:

The morally efficient person must (1) know definitely what moral living means, (2) he must have moral habits of living and be able to make the proper moral adjustments to usual situations, and (3) he must have an appreciation of moral standards.

It is a well-known fact of human behavior that knowledge of right will not in itself develop the correct habit. To give the individual an appreciation of the proper moral standards is a rather intangible task. Appreciations are developed through meaningful and significant experiences. Moral appreciations must therefore come through participation.

What, then, is the duty of the school in relation to the moral guidance and development of the pupils? First, we must recall that moral development is a continuous process. Habits are not divided into different periods spontaneously, some coming while others fade away. Again, moral efficiency follows the laws of learning. The task of the school, then, is: (1) to develop in the child the ability to distinguish between moral and immoral behavior; (2) to guide the child into those

¹¹ Griffin, Grace H. Y.: "How Can We Make Him Morally Efficient?" *Educational Review*, 1926, 72, p. 203.

activities that will develop proper moral habits; and (3) to develop ideals and attitudes that become a part of the intricate personality and thus become a dynamic force in life.

Moral instruction points out the form of conduct that is in harmony with the mores of the group. Its method may be either direct or indirect: the subject may or may not be conscious of the facts of moral instruction. Moral instruction is closely related to character development, and is often considered that phase of character training in which verbal training is in evidence. Physical activity, particularly group or team games, rightly conducted will present quite an opportunity for the development of good moral concepts; if it is wrongly conducted, the result is failure in worthy ideals and noble actions. Now during the adolescent period vigorous, virile leaders will enter into team activities, and these leaders very often influence in a large measure the moral standards of the group. Hence one concerned with the training of boys should recognize the importance of these leaders. Often the giving of certain responsibilities to these leaders will aid considerably in directing their behavior into channels that will tend to establish desirable conduct in the life of their playmates. For with the development of adolescence, playmates come to have a more and more important influence on each other.

The moral standards and personal leadership of the directors of the activities of boys and girls will be a large factor in determining whether these boys and girls are to be an asset or a liability to the group. If "win at any cost" is the ideal and general spirit that is engendered

in the group by the leader, the ethical standards of the group are being poisoned.

Play and moral development.—A life of action in contact with others is necessary for the formation of character. Habits of conduct get their moral quality chiefly from the influence of others. Miss Blanchard says:

Adaptation to others may begin even in the play of early childhood, when toys must be shared with little play-mates. In later childhood, although the struggle is for individual supremacy, this must be attained honorably and without breaking the rules of the game. The child who cheats and does not play fairly is soon ostracised by his companions. Ethical standards are taught not by moral precepts but through bitter experiences in what happens to the unethical, and there can be no more lasting lesson.¹²

The value of play as a means of developing character can be observed even in the young child. In play life the child is brought into contact with reality and thrown upon his or her responsibility and ability to meet the situation. In the simple games of the child the rights of others are brought clearly to the child's attention. The play of the group reaches its fuller and final perfection in the organized teamwork of adolescents. At this time the finer traits of character quite often have their real beginning.

For guidance in physical education two factors are quite necessary: (1) There is a necessity for the child to develop those coördinations and skills that will enable him to carry through the activities. The performance

¹² Blanchard, Phyllis: *The Child and Society*, pp. 141-142. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928.

of such activities leads to greater confidence in the self, and is also pleasurable for most adolescents. These skills may, further, have a hygienic value in establishing a better balance between work, rest, and recreation. (2) The other chief necessity in a physical education program which is to attain the proper moral values is the correct supervision of the children's play activities. Supervision, of course, should not have as its purpose any interference with the spontaneous play life of the child. The purpose of play supervision is probably twofold: (a) to insure for all children a more equal opportunity for deriving benefits from the play activities, and (b) to aid in the development of those habits that will be in harmony with the ideals of the group. It is through such supervision, usually indirect in nature, that the primary emotions of fear, rage, and love are socially conditioned and integrated into the behavior patterns of the growing social organism, and ultimately become an ally rather than an enemy in the formation of further desirable character traits and moral precepts.

The guidance of adolescent boys and girls into those play activities that are in harmony with their interests and inner nature may become the prime method in the development of the character and moral qualities necessary to society. The concept of adjusting the child through supervision to the mores and folkways of society is indeed idealistic, yet those concerned with the play life of adolescents can profit a great deal by attempting to adjust their behavior to the true nature of growing adolescents. There is no native tendency that would cause the child to adjust or fail to adjust to society, but there are native tendencies in the growing child

that must be directed if boys and girls are to achieve a healthful adjustment and a good character and personality.

The need of will-power.—No will is free, since it is controlled by various forces of human nature and the social setting. Yet decisions, as one reaches mental maturity and is thus able to apprehend factors less concrete in nature and only indirectly related to the situation, can and should be arrived at on the basis of reason rather than emotion and prejudice. Victor Hugo once said, "People do not lack strength, they lack will." During adolescence the individual develops the habit of making decisions in situations more far-reaching in importance than those of his earlier life. Such habits of making decisions often are developed on the basis of rational behavior, to which of course knowledge or experience is necessary.

A volitional situation is directly related to the stimulus-organism-response viewpoint presented earlier in connection with motivation (Chapter IV). The adolescent reaches a stage of maturity such that actions can be delayed somewhat indefinitely, according to the principle that, because of man's highly developed and highly centralized neuromuscular system, very complex activities can be established and held over for future adjustments. Prior to the age of adolescence the average individual is unable to make use of the more abstract principles in reasoning, evaluation, and the comparison of values. But with mental and intellectual maturity, and a broadened social and educational development, he is able to arrive at a rational decision in a volitional situation. He is thus able to plan and organize his behavior

in relation to a vocational outlook, physical needs, and moral and sexual adjustments.

Rational guidance.—Modern educational practices should be designed to lead out of the individual's original nature the best that is in him for the advancement of the self and the group, and to guide and modify innate tendencies so as not only to fit the youth to an adult civilization but to further the civilization itself. Adolescents of today, in fact, are growing into a sincerity of nature; they feel the impulse from the new social group of which they are about to become a member, and can be trusted to respond to what is fair and inspiring. There is a turning away from the rule of authority of former times to the rule of reason and democratic ideals of the present. The adolescent individual may be led to accept blindly some things for a time, but with the coming of his fuller mental powers he is led to challenge many teachings.

In the problems related to the present-day guidance of youth, we sometimes magnify difficulties. However, it is sorely true that this is a new age, an age signified by the honk of automobile horns and the nervous rush in the streets, rather than the song of birds and the stirring of trees on the hillside. Furthermore, "our children are being analyzed and classified and moulded and packed into a pattern that lacks the spontaneity and freedom that is the birthright of the child in the playtime of life."¹³ And this mechanization, formulation, and graduation of life into the patterns and forms of a complex social order with many make-believe restraints drives

¹³ Brennermann, Joseph: "Pediatric Psychology and the Child Guidance Movement," *The Journal of Pediatrics*, 1933, 2, p. 1.

adolescents away from the school, away from the home, into adventure, and too often into darkness and ruin.

The necessity for eternal vigilance outdoors, and for constant inhibitions and denials during the longer hours indoors, make for shattered nerves and broken discipline on the part of the mother and successful rebellion against authority for domination on the part of the child.¹⁴

Parents and teachers should come to accept each individual as a worthwhile subject, rather than to conceive of individuals from the "race-horse" standpoint in which each is pitted against the other in every activity. In the midst of a great industrial upheaval we note a socio-moral transition taking place. We are fast learning that morality cannot be legislated in either the home or the school, or by our state and nation; nor can character be developed by creed and dogma alone. The child's personality must not be sacrificed to outworn rules and creeds. Sham, hypocrisy, and dishonesty must give way to a better understanding of the adolescent characteristics of human nature.

Thought Problems

1. Contrast the problems of primitive man and those of man today insofar as guidance is concerned.
2. Criticize the methods that have been used in sex guidance.
3. What is the keynote principle in regard to sex guidance? Give this in one sentence if possible.
4. Is vocational guidance a new development? Give proof with your answer.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

5. How is the occupation of the father related to the occupational choice of the son? Does your experience and observation bear this out?

6. Show how self-analysis is of value with respect to vocational guidance.

7. What is the difference between moral and religious guidance? Illustrate.

8. What is the function of moral instruction? of religious instruction?

9. What are some of the more important concepts you have arrived at relative to pitfalls to guard against in the guidance program?

10. Comment on the fourfold aim of education as it relates to the guidance program.

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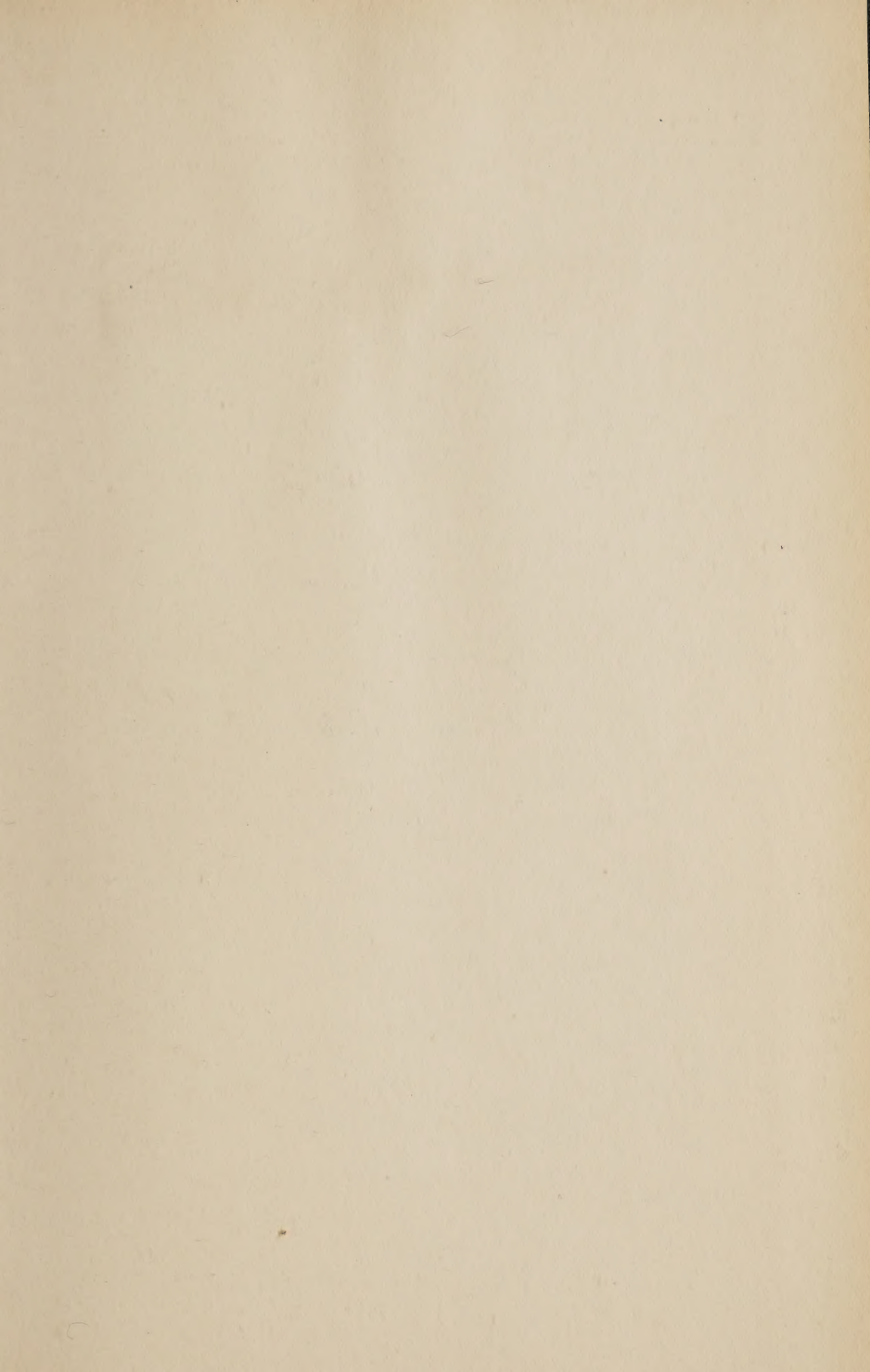
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